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ALGERIA

School Leaders Arrested for Islamist Tracts

94AF0167A Algiers LIBERTE in French 2 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Khadidja Zeghloul: "Schools: Lessons in Terrorism"; first paragraph is LIBERTE introduction]

[Text] *Four school principals in Tlemcen have just been remanded in custody on charges of "distributing tracts of a nature to harm the national interest."*

What the accused had done was read to their students Islamist tracts threatening reprisals against women not wearing the veil. What is it that immediately strikes one upon hearing that report by the APS? Only one thing: the fact that those principals are being prosecuted. Because except for that act of public salubrity, what could be more banal in today's schools than the daily passing on of Islamist ideology?

The constant hammering by a good many teachers, backed by the reactionary and archaic content of school curricula and the collusion, complicity, or abdication of public authorities, parents, and teachers not part of the Islamist movement, has become a basic given in Algerian schools. Not a day passes without every child in Algeria being held hostage by that fascism, which has, with impunity, taken over the national education sector as a squatter. The fact that four school principals are now being taken to court for disseminating subversive tracts is the thing that is surprising. It also sets a precedent for which the credit should probably go to parents who have complained. But should it make us forget that the schools in this republic are working relentlessly on behalf of obscurantist ideology and its reactionary plan for society? Should it make us forget that schools have become a formidable, powerful, and public tool of Islamist extremism, whether dissolved or legal? Should it make us forget that thousands upon thousands of teachers are devoting all their class time to hateful, vehement, and antipatriotic speeches of a nature to harm the national interest without being disturbed in any way, thus benefiting from the power of the fait accompli? The fact is that bringing the four "teachers" from Tlemcen before the correctional court alerts us once again to a truism: Algerian public schools are no longer anything but a big national "zawiyah" creating an "anti-November" and "antifatherland" spirit. As such, they are in imperative need of an urgent top-to-bottom overhaul. To realize the urgency of that need, one must first become aware that, in the words of the late President Boudiaf, "the schools are a disaster area."

After he made that remark, Algerians, or at least the most vigilant of them, learned that of the 7,428 prisoners in the security centers, 1,224 were teachers. That shows the extent of the moral violations being committed against defenseless schoolchildren. We can bet that those figures, alarming as they are, are only the tip of the iceberg. The veil is gradually being lifted from a disaster whose extent is advancing inexorably, like a nightmare.

At the start of 1993, 315 terrorist teachers had been counted, 250 of them had been arrested, and 52 others were still being sought.

The Algerian school system is corrupt from the elementary to the university level. But there is no limit to the horrors. We thought it had been reached, for example, with the terrorist academic and computer scientist in Constantine whose leader was an amir involved in the black market. But now the security services are giving us a glimpse of the incredible depth of the disaster: lycee students in their junior and senior years were recently arrested in the governorate of Alger.

They were involved in terrorist acts and belonged to armed groups. The teachers are being emulated. Any pupil, any parent, and any teacher hostile to fascism can bear interminable witness to all the acts of violence and the violations being encouraged or tolerated in cowardly fashion, as the case may be, in the schools. Intimidation and threats are used to force women and girls to wear the veil, grades are used as blackmail to ensure compliance with a dress code and an ostentatious display of bigotry, the youngest pupils in particular are being subjected to psychological trauma, parents' associations and the FNTE [expansion not given] are being infiltrated, and so on. Every kind of charlatanism goes unpunished. So why should we be surprised when lycee students in Constantine try to kill their teacher? Considering all the abysses facing us today, surprise is reserved for other things.

Redha Malek, unwittingly and unwillingly, may have provided us with proof of that when he congratulated lycee students in Rouiba for rescuing their teacher from a kidnapping attempt.

In an escalation of the horror, and in accordance with predictable and infernal logic, the schools, after first producing fundamentalism and directly encouraging violence, are now becoming the hostages of terrorism. About 30 teachers have been murdered and about 60 schools set on fire. More than ever, the schools are being held hostage by that terrorism and by the pusillanimity of the authorities, who are hemming and hawing and letting things slide.

But how can anyone believe that on this crucial and basic issue, the national school system will ever be straightened out by a Ministry of Education which, when it was considering a reform in 1993, planned to include the very people responsible for the disaster in the discussions? Civil society has certainly realized its responsibility for this disaster and its duty to act. Operation "Schoolbag" is set to take place on 16 April.

That date has been proclaimed the Day of Knowledge. Will it be reappropriated in the interest of progress?

EGYPT

Country's Presence in UN Reviewed

94LD0035A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
11 Feb 94 pp 52-53, 70

[Article by Majid 'Atiyah]

[Text] The Egyptians are coming...

Ten Egyptian experts are on their way to the center of the United Nations.

UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus Ghali has selected the 10 and nominated them to leadership positions in the areas of Bosnia, the GATT, renewable energy, and in other areas.

The international nomination of the ten experts has not come out of the blue. Behind each of the men there is a story of sweat and struggle, which started in Egypt and has culminated at the world's ceiling in New York.

Judges of the Administrative Court of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have elected Dr. Ahmad Kamal Abu-al-Majd, an Egyptian professor of international law, chairman of the court.

The judges of the International Banks's Administrative Court knew Dr. Abu-al-Majd as a magistrate of the court in 1980 and as its vice chairman in 1988. He is the only Arab member of this court, which consists of a chairman, currently Dr. Abu-al-Majd; two vice chairmen, one American and the other British; and four magistrates, currently a Frenchman, a Chilean, a Ghanaian, and a Malaysian.

Lawyers and law circles in Cairo and the Arab world know attorney Kamal Abu-al-Majd, especially in connection with international trade adjudication. He is a professor of comparative law. Comparative law was the subject of the thesis for which he got his masters degree from Michigan University, the United States, in 1959. A year earlier, i.e., in 1958, he acquired his Ph.D. in international law from Cairo University Law School. After he abandoned "prosecution," Abu-al-Majd taught as a university professor until he was selected to be cultural adviser at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington. He then returned to assume the position of Egypt's information minister for several years. After leaving the ministry, he worked for a period as constitutional adviser to the Kuwaiti Government, in addition to teaching at Kuwait's Law College, which selected him later as its dean.

Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd was not nominated for any position because of favoritism but was selected for his various positions as a result of his education, his expertise, and his reputation in his field of specialization. This is why he advises Egyptian lawyers to study and read, especially material connected with comparative law and trade adjudication, so that we can develop what is known as the "international lawyer." This quality is gained only

through special studies and skills that cannot be gained from colleges but from private effort. I hope that the Business Law Institute, established on agreement between Paris and Cairo, will perform the role of training the Egyptian "international lawyer." However, greater effort is required to train lawyers in this specialized field, especially since we face numerous international developments and since we live under intricate and involved international relations.

This is why Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd underlines the importance of training an Egyptian lawyer experienced in comparative law, international law, international arbitration committees, and in drafting contracts. All these are, of course, skills that are not gained by shrewdness but by study, practice, and experience.

Ambassador Muhammad 'Ali Niyazi

Muhammad 'Ali Niyazi is a diplomat who has worked in the UN administrative apparatus for more than 20 years. Dr. Butrus Ghali selected him after receiving reports indicating the loss of millions of dollars and in the wake of a chain of accusations against a number of UN officials, especially in the area of peacekeeping. Matters reached such a point that a single report from Cambodia indicated the loss of \$20 million as a result of "fraud." Another report from the former Yugoslavia indicates that peacekeeping forces have been selling food and fuel in the black market. This is in addition to other reports about corruption within the UN apparatus, all of which has motivated the UN secretary general to suspend eight officials pending investigation. It has been said that the issue concerns manipulation of contracts to lease aircraft for numerous peacekeeping operations.

Muhammad 'Ali Niyazi began his work early this month (September) [month as published] by examining and reviewing accounts and advisory and administrative services. He will submit his reports to Secretary General Dr. Butrus Ghali directly. Before Dr. Niyazi assumed his job, some circles launched a campaign to cast doubt on his neutrality, using the pretext that he has been an employee of the UN administrative apparatus for 20 years; that he has held several positions in the administration and audit sections at a time when rumors of corruption abounded; and that he has connections with the workers. This campaign wonders if Dr. Niyazi will be neutral in his private relations with some workers who could be subjected to investigation.

The Alexandria inhabitant, who has risen gradually in the UN administrative apparatus, has not paid much attention to the attempts to cast doubt on him. He has started his work as "inspector general" of the organization that awaits the outcome of his efforts to expose the corruption cases that have greatly disturbed the secretary general under the difficult financial circumstances the United Nations is experiencing.

Dr. George Michel

When Dr. George Michel Sa'b graduated from Cairo University's Law School in 1954, his objective was to continue his studies. His young age (20 years at the time) did not stop him from acquiring two more diplomas from the same college. He went to Paris at his own expense and then to the United States in 1956, all in pursuit of a Ph.D. So he got one from Paris, a second from the University of Michigan, the United States, and a third degree from Harvard University, also in the United States. All his doctorates are in international law. The only exception is a masters degree he got in economics. Ultimately, Dr. Sa'b settled down as professor of international law at the Higher International Studies Institute of Geneva University.

Dr. George has gained an international reputation in international conflicts, especially in border demarcation issues. Tunisia selected him as the attorney representing it before the International Court of Justice in the al-Jurf [continental shelf] issue with Libya. He was also an associate magistrate in the International Court of Justice in the case of the border dispute between Mali and Burkina. Morocco selected him as the main attorney representing it in an international business case connected with enlarging an oil refinery in a the town of Mohammedia.

All Egyptians remember Dr. George Michel Sa'b, "Egypt's attorney" in the Taba case. In this case, he participated in drafting 800-2,000 pages of memoranda responding to Israel.

Dr. George Sa'b's selection to the Taba case was due to his reputation. At the time, Dr. Butrus Ghali assigned Dr. 'Amr Musa, who was then Egypt's alternate UN delegate, to look for Dr. Sa'b. When Dr. George Michel and Dr. 'Amr Musa got together at Dr. Musa's dinner table, the third party at the table was a direct telephone line with Dr. Butrus Ghali, the then minister of state for foreign affairs, who asked Dr. Sa'b to come to Egypt promptly. In Cairo, Dr. Michel pored over the case papers for nights with Dr. Butrus Ghali and Dr. Usamah al-Baz.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir was so angered by some papers that Dr. George submitted that he said, "The Egyptian negotiator wants to win the case even before it starts."

Dr. George Michel Sa'b works by the hour and his rate in some cases is more than \$500, never less. He worked on the Taba case for more than 500 hours, according to the estimates of Egyptian experts, meaning that he was entitled to \$250,000. But his Egyptian identity motivated him to turn down any recompense for his efforts. He considered himself a "recruit" serving a national issue concerning his country's border.

Dr. Sharif Basyuni

The selection of Egyptian legist Dr. Sharif Basyuni is because he is specialized in defending human rights everywhere. This led to his selection as chairman of the De Paul University's Human Rights Institute. Dr. Sharif is the grandson of Mahmud Basyuni, who was senate chairman and a leader of the Egyptian revolution against British occupation in Upper Egypt during the 1919 revolution. Mahmud Basyuni was sentenced to death, but then released when Egypt gained its independence in 1922. Mahmud also participated in drafting the first Egyptian constitution in 1923.

Dr. Sharif began his life's voyage as a student in France in 1956, the time when the Suez War erupted. For this reason, he returned to Egypt, joined the first National Guard Commando Division as a volunteer, and participated in the war. As an officer of the Egyptian Armed Forces, Dr. Basyuni trained a number of Algerians who had come to fight the French forces and to take part in the 1956 war. He took charge of training 25 of those Algerians and developed with some of them friendships that continue to this day. He also took part in the Port Said battle and then returned to France when the war ended. But these activities motivated the French security to watch Dr. Basyuni's activities closely, first because they knew that he had trained some Algerians in Egypt and, second, because he participated in Algerian national political action in Paris. This is why he was arrested in France. An international figure interceded with the French authorities, thanks to the connections of Sharif's father who was a diplomat at the Foreign Ministry.

Dr. Basyuni returned to Egypt, after living abroad for three years, during which he absorbed the principles of the French revolution and the concepts of liberty, fraternity, and equality. He was appointed as an official of the Egyptian Government and worked in the office of the president. But he then disagreed with the security agencies when the press reported his activity in the Port Said battle and his training of Algerians. Consequently, he was confined to Cairo.

One morning, Dr. Sharif Basyuni was surprised to learn that his parents had been placed under house arrest and that his father's passport had been withdrawn.

It so happened that circumstances dictated that his mother go to the United States for cancer treatment. She had to have a relative accompany her. Sharif had to go because he is her only son, and he found a way to leave and to stay abroad and out of the authorities' reach for a long time.

Dr. Sharif Basyuni credits Ambassador Ashraf Ghurbal for the restoration of his relations with the Egyptian authorities. Ghurbal went to Anwar al-Sadat and told him that this was a special case in which al-Sadat had to intercede personally. Another coincidence played a role in the issue.

Dr. Basyuni's mother was a member of the Red Crescent Society's Executive Council when Jihan al-Sadat wanted to join the council. The other women members of the council treated Mrs. al-Sadat haughtily at the time. Dr. Basyuni's mother learned of the story and found out that Mrs. al-Sadat had humanitarian inclinations. So, his mother helped Jihan join the council by inserting her name at the top of the candidate list. The mother was also the only executive council member who continued to associate with Jihan and to go out with her to lunch. President Anwar al-Sadat's wife remembered these facts when Dr. Sharif Basyuni's issue was raised with the president. Consequently, al-Sadat personally requested Basyuni's file and then sent him a personal letter asking him to return to Egypt. Dr. Basyuni responded to the call and returned to Egypt and met with the president. During their conversation, President al-Sadat told Basyuni about the details of his impending visit to the United States. Dr. Basyuni asked him: why don't you come to visit Chicago? Al-Sadat had thought that Chicago was the city of the mafia and of violent and criminal activity. But Dr. Sharif made the arrangements for a successful visit by President al-Sadat at a time when New York's mayor had refused to receive him. The Chicago mayor knew Dr. Basyuni well, because his son was one of his students. So, the mayor issued an immediate invitation to al-Sadat, who was given by Chicago a warm official welcome that touched him deeply.

This is why Dr. Sharif Basyuni has spent 20 years of his life working for legislation to protect human rights. He has countless writings in this regard, including 27 books and volumes and 125 legal articles. He has also written a book on Islam and has watched all human rights protection programs in the Arab world.

Dr. Sharif has held a total of 14 symposiums at Egyptian universities, which have been attended by 1,500 legists from all parts of the Arab world. Eight law colleges now teach the subject of human rights to some 10,000-12,000 students annually. Dr. Sharif believes that democracy is what will rescue Third World countries from their accumulating social and economic problems.

Ambassador Dr. Munir Zahran

The final international [UN] position was the lot of Ambassador Dr. Munir Zahran who has been elected by the majority of the developing countries to be the 1994 GATT session chairman. This is the final year in the life of this organization, which has survived for nearly 45 years and which will change its name as of the beginning of 1995 to become the International Trade Organization. This organization will begin to operate in accordance with a charter and rules that were agreed to on 15 December 1993 and that will be signed finally at a conference which will be held in Marrakech, Morocco, this coming April. The conference will be headed by Egyptian Ambassador Dr. Munir Zahran who joined Egypt's diplomatic corps in 1958. He worked at the research, international organizations, economic organizations, and international cooperation sections. Dr.

Zahran also worked as director of the office of the late Kamal Hasan 'Ali when he was foreign minister. He then became head of the international organizations department and was later selected to be the president's envoy to African leaders in 1989 and 1990. Since then, Dr. Zahran has held the post of Egypt's permanent delegate to the UN's European headquarters in Geneva from 1991 to this time.

Dr. Zahran is well known to UN meetings, considering that he has represented Egypt at the United Nations, UNESCO, WHO, ILO [International Labor Organization], the International Intellectual Ownership Organization, UNCTAD [UN Conference on Trade and Development], GATT, the International Immigration Organization, the UN Higher Commission for Refugees, the International Red Cross Committee, the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization], the International Atomic Energy Agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the IMF. He has chaired several committees within these organizations, such as the UN Intellectual Ownership Organization's coordination committee and the committee of the countries participating in the Developing Countries' Most Favored Trade Partners Agreement. Previously, Dr. Zahran headed the [UN] Peacekeeping Commission and the Executive Council of the Islamic Trade Development Center.

This latest position at the GATT crowns Dr. Munir Zahran's long experience in this particular field.

Dr. Munir Zahran has been awarded two Egyptian medals, the Republic Medal, Second Class, in 1981 and the Medal of Merit, First Class, in 1983. He was also granted a Crown's Great Knight Medal by the king of Belgium in 1983 and the 'Alawite Medal, Commander's Class, by King Hassan II of Morocco in 1989 when he was Egypt's ambassador to Morocco. Now, he will return to Morocco as the GATT session chairman, which will terminate his post as chairman of the Disarmament Conference, a position he held from August 1993 until January 1994.

Dr. Muhammad Shawkat

The United Nations has nominated Dr. Muhammad Shawkat to head the Commission on New and Renewable Energy for Development for a four-year term. This selection was made by the United Nations because of the capabilities that Dr. Shawkat possesses, because of his long experience with oil and energy economics, and because of his international ties. The latest office he held was the office of the oil minister's adviser on international relations and information. Previously, Dr. Shawkat was the Oil Authority's information affairs chairman.

During his career, Dr. Shawkat was been appointed a member of the Executive Office of OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries), and as Egypt's representative to the Association of African Oil Producing Countries (APA); and as Egypt's chief of

delegation to IPEC [as published] and OPEC meetings. He also represented Egypt in the dialogue between producers and consumers.

Previously, Dr. Muhammad Shawkat held the position of chief editor of Egypt's AL-BATRUL [PETROLEUM] magazine and worked as energy economics professor at Egyptian universities. He has written several volumes and conducted research and studies in the area of oil and energy economics.

Southern Uranium Mining Operations Described

94AF0087A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 5 Jan 94
pp 36-38

[Unattributed article: "Uranium Discovered for First Time in Southern Desert"]

[Text] In the southeastern desert's burning heat and biting winter cold, young atomic scientists are continuing their difficult road to open the first experimental mine in the Umm Ara area 180 km southeast of Aswan, where Egypt's most promising region for uranium ore is located.

They are confirming in practice the correctness of their scientific study that contradicted the opinion of the foreign company that surveyed the area for radioactivity in 1965 and declared it "devoid" of radioactivity indicating the presence of uranium ore.

Amid nature's harshness and despite difficult conditions, they hope to build up a remote area that will change the facts of the region and Egypt's future in years not very distant.

AKHIR SA'AH lived among them, observing the digging into the rocks for the sake of the future. Here is the report.

Far From Offices: Egyptian Youth's Epic Struggle

Although I was dead tired, I could find no justification for sleep.

There was a yellow scorpion under my pillow, and a snake at the door of my room. But for a foreboding from what you might call a sixth sense (in reality it was only God's protection) and the alertness of an on-site technician who quickly dispatched the snake with a sharp instrument while his colleague hurried to bring some gasoline and a lighted match—had it not been for all these things, there would have been a different story to tell, as the sports commentators say.

Even worse, we were in an area called Umm Ara, 180 km south of Aswan in the remotest part of Egypt's eastern desert, some distance from the place called Wadi al-'Allaqi. An experienced camel trader in Aswan told me that once a camel got across, it was perfectly safe. It was a burning furnace in the summer months. Circumstances in the Atomic Materials Agency had compelled us to go there to celebrate with them the beginnings of the first

experimental mine to search for uranium in the southeastern desert. It was a mine with great promise. Having awaited the event for years, we agreed immediately, saying: "Heat passes, and no one dies of it." In our joy we gave no thought to scorpions and snakes until we actually confronted them. All our escorts had been completely silent about anything of the sort. On the other hand, after the two incidents, a flood of stories poured out so frightening to my photographer colleague and me that, until just before the return trip, we could hardly think of going into our rest house, even to get our things, without carefully inspecting our simple equipment.

A 180-km trip would be simple with modern automobiles and paved roads. However, on a bumpy dirt track in the heart of the desert's harshness in perpetually dusty Zil cars that turned us into ghosts with eyes, it took about eight hours broken by a number of rest stops to help us endure the way. If you realize that there was no antivenin at the site where we were, what would our state be by the time we reached the hospitals of Aswan, if—God forbid—we were bitten?

I did not succeed in calming myself for sleep by repeating to myself that I was not the most important visitor to the site and that two of Egypt's top nuclear power scientists were with us on the trip: Dr. Taha Sabah, former head of the Atomic Materials Agency, and Dr. 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Halim, head of the agency's research section and supervisor of its development departments. Not to mention that the least of the dust-caked young people staying at the site had the academic rank of assistant professor of atomic materials. All, without exception, counted as a valuable part of Egypt's scientific treasure, along with the other members of the camp—technicians, workers, and drivers. As we saw and experienced, they were working as hard as they could. Not only did they have expertise rarely found at many sites, but in their dedication to the job despite its small economic rewards they deserved to be esteemed and envied. While the dangers of the place frightened me during a two-night visit, they were the daily life of those staying at the camp and caused them no evident distress.

Nor did the jokes of Dr. Ahmad Faruq, head of the southeastern desert department, and Dr. Sa'd-al-Din Mansur, head of the mission, succeed in bringing me out of the state of grumbling that overcame me as I sat by myself in the camp.

The comment of one of the young geologists, that they all had children, made me again feel an embarrassment as a human being and journalist that attacks me whenever I journey to one of these harsh sites scattered throughout Egypt's deserts. Sadly, I suddenly realize how the frills of Cairo life have made me forget the reality of what I was seeing there—the effort, creativity, and dedication of outstanding university youths, graduates of the generation of the seventies, eighties, and even nineties, who had embarked on this difficult life.

Results of Study Doubted

Intuition was the main reason behind the discovery of this site. We had come to celebrate the blasting open of one shaft of the experimental mine, the first fruit of work that had already gone on for about 25 years.

It all began about 1965, when the Canadian HanTing [name as transliterated] company started making a aerial radioactivity survey of the area south of Aswan as part of the regional planning project for the Lake Nasir area. A group of young Egyptian geologists assisted the company in carrying out the work. They were from the nuclear geology department of what was then called the Nuclear Power Agency, which later developed into the Atomic Materials Agency, and had been sent by presidential order because of their special competence in the field.

The work at the time was organized so that an Egyptian geologist would accompany the airplane on its daily flight and then would take the tapes for examination, approval, and delivery to the foreign company the next morning.

Apprehensive about the results of the aerial survey, the young Egyptians decided on their own, without informing the foreign company, to hand copy the aerial survey tapes. They spent long sleepless nights doing so.

As they expected, the Canadian company's report stated that there were no radioactive anomalies in the area, and thus no probable presence of uranium ore.

Rejecting this conclusion, the young geologists insisted on studying the copies they themselves had made and submitted doctoral dissertations based on them to prove what they deemed to be true. Their dissertations as well as ground survey parties proved this, and about 17 areas with radioactive anomalies came to light.

These young people were:

- Dr. Ahmad Abu-Bakr, now head of the exploration section of the Atomic Materials Agency;
- Dr. Wafiq Musharraf, who became deputy chairman of the Petroleum Agency; and
- Dr. Hamdi Sayf-al-Nasr, who became head of the electrical survey department of the exploration section of the Atomic Materials Agency.

Because the result of the foreign company's radiation survey came out in 1967, when the work of exploration parties in the mountains had to be postponed due to war conditions, and because the doctoral dissertations took time to complete, real interest in the Umm Ara area started in 1975.

A ground party was formed, including Dr. Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid and Dr. Sa'd-al-Din Mansur. The work began with the submission of a master's dissertation on the area by Dr. Ahmad 'Abdallah (he also

received his doctorate on the same area). These dissertations revealed that there really were radiation anomalies, and the men investigated the sites on the ground, locating them on maps so that detailed study of them could begin.

Because the work of the Atomic Materials Agency in the mountains depends for its studies on academic theses submitted on the research areas, a number of doctoral and masters essays were submitted, among them the master's thesis by Dr. Muhammad al-Ahmadi. In addition, six students are currently working in the area to complete their master's and doctoral dissertations: 'Adil al-Afandi, Sa'id Faraj, Hamdi 'Abd-Rabbuh, Abu-al-Futuh 'Abd-al-Ra'uf, 'Adil Fu'ad, and 'Abd-al-Ghani Faw.

Encouraging Field Visits

In 1983, the Aswan mission began making field visits to the Umm Ara area for detailed studies. These studies had encouraging results and were accompanied by the development of the mission camp from a hasty camp of one or more tents to a large camp. It has now become a permanent camp of limestone rest houses with all the requisites of settled life, such as a restaurant, a meeting hall, and electricity generators. Work goes on all year-round, despite the harsh conditions. Even in the fearful heat of July, August, and September, which stops work on implementing the mine due to the difficulty of providing the necessities**necessities of life, especially water, for a large number of people, a limited number of people stay to continue building rest houses for lodging and to ready the camp's other needs, not to mention maintaining life there so that the camp does not become a haven for the region's animals and insects seeking shade or food.

The site was set up by the individual efforts of workers at costs less than a quarter of what one contracting company had set for implementing the project in this rugged area.

A Canadian scientific mission then visited the site and suggested constructing an experimental open mine of two parallel trenches in the hill in which the evidence for uranium had turned up. Each trench was to be 1,000 meters long, so as to follow the course of the ore in extension and various depths and evaluate it in preparation for presenting feasibility studies on exploiting it—which would be the prelude, God willing, to great benefit for Egypt.

A dynamite storehouse was constructed for this purpose. It was especially designed to keep its temperature below 30 degrees [centigrade] in summer to protect the dynamite—quite a marvel in the fiery heat I experienced there.

Experimental Mine Implemented

Actual work to implement the experimental mine began in March 1991. Twelve trenches were dug, through the

colossal efforts of the blasting team, which included Engineer Ashraf Yawdah, who was in charge of the blasting, Hamid SA'd, the chief technician, Muhammad al-Mahdi, and blasting technician Tariq Ibrahim.

One should note that although the Umm Ara area is the most important prospecting area in the southeastern desert thus far, it is one of a number of areas in which parties are working under the supervision of the Aswan mission. These include:

- the Jabal al-Bakriyah areas south of the road from Idfu to Marsa 'Alam, where there are anomalies whose sites have been investigated;
- the Wadi al-Jimal [name as transliterated] area, where there is new evidence;
- the Wadi Qafah area; and
- the Majal Jibril [name as transliterated] area, where there are small anomalies.

Aerial Surveying, Experimental Mine

Before finishing the details of our trip, we must pause over two points of importance to nonspecialists. We asked Dr. Taha al-Sabah and Dr. 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Halim to clarify them.

First, an aerial radiation survey involves using an airplane equipped with devices to observe any radiation emanating from the rocks. The plane makes low flights at regular distances. Afterward, the tapes that the observation devices record are examined to determine the areas of anomalies. Ground parties do detailed follow-up of these areas for confirmation.

This system was implemented intermittently in Egypt using various airplanes from 1956 until 1982, when the last airplane caught fire while parked on the ground of the airport. No other airplane has been obtained to date, although only about \$5 million is needed. Seventy-five percent of Egypt's area has not been radiologically surveyed. Doing so would bring great good to light. The airplane would also be important now in monitoring any radiation that comes to Egyptian territory from a foreign nuclear accident such as the one at Chernobyl.

Second, the experimental mine is a very advanced phase of the search for and evaluation of uranium ore. It is the first stage in implementing the basic operating mine, which will take about 15 years. Egypt now has about four experimental uranium mines located in the areas of al-Musaythamat [name as transliterated], al-'Ardiyah [name as transliterated], Jabal Qitar [name as transliterated], and Umm Ara.

Blasting Mine Passage

All the geologists rushed to the top of a high hill far to the right of the blasting site for shelter from the danger of the small stones thrown long distances by the blast and covering the open area of the mine, as we saw. They said that the small stones were hurled so fast after the blast that they might be lethal.

However, my colleague, photographer Ahmad Nasr, insisted that the small hill directly facing the blasting trench was the best place for photographing—"Why else did I come?" So all I could do was take cover on the lowest part of the hill. Thus I was at the foot of the hill, keeping an eye on the course of the cloud of small stones as it spread toward us, so as to warn of danger—even if no photographing was done—rather than death. I found beside me Dr. 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Halim and Dr. Ahmad Faruq, so that we all might encourage and reassure him, though we kept warning him that his safety was more important.

There was a strong, muffled explosion that sounded like a shot from a cannon close by. It was followed by a loud echo that the mountains around us reflected. Then we saw a large mass of stone rise into the air with a gray cloud, and then a broad cloud of pebbles that we followed with our eyes until it fell at the foot of the hill.

No sooner did the features of the blasting trench become visible again, than I noticed that there was a human being wearing protective clothing standing on the ground of the site with instruments to measure the radiation in the walls of the mine. I did not know when he had arrived there or where he had been hiding. It was 'Abd-al-Ghani Faw, who was responsible for radiation monitoring and was making studies involving observing the degree of radiation at the moment of the blast and at regular intervals thereafter. He was the dark, handsome young man whom I had just met in conversation the night before. The difference between him dusty and with his head wrapped in a scarf and his present appearance was great. He is a young man from Qina, a 1978 honors science graduate of Asyut University.

Shortly before that, we had stood in the middle of the blast trench, the sides of which rose above our heads. We were using Geiger counters to monitor evidence of ore, whose rays caused the counters to sound. At the end of the passage the blasting groups were stuffing the holes that had been prepared for the purpose.

Near us a bulldozer is at work moving the debris from the blast. We learned that its presence had spread joy among those standing around us. It had arrived a few days ago after a full week of travel in the desert. There had been enormous difficulties in getting it here, and now it was doing in minutes the ore-moving job that used to take many workers hours to do, thus compressing the time for completing the tunnel and successfully fulfilling the plan.

Everyone agrees that the temporary workers should stay to work in the summer, instead of a mandatory halt during the summer months because of the climate and the end of the fiscal year. They should work on building the new guest house at the mission's Aswan headquarters to replace the original metal building that gets so hot that entering it, even in the middle of the night with fans that work all day, is a real adventure. Practical experience has demonstrated that the best buildings for these hot areas

are those that use rock from the environment and that they are much more merciful.

Near the end of Wadi al-'Allaqi we turned our car to guide the other cars on the road with our headlights, so that no one would get lost in the dark. As the car turned, we noticed creatures moving under the light like the reflection of moving water. "No, they are scorpions," explained the driver calmly. We could not even open the doors to let in a breath of air! His saying that they could not climb the body of the car did not reassure us. As soon as the cars answered our signal with their lights, we fled from the place.

In our present location we feel reassured by the company; for the site is lit up and all activity, and the camp dump is far away as a precaution against the visits of nocturnal animals. Hopefully they will find what they get there sufficient, instead of making the rounds of the camp as they used to do last year. One cunning jackal kept getting into the kitchen for months on end and had the men baffled. They used every trick on him from poisoned food to a barrel filled with water for him to drown in. They chased him by car, but to no avail, until he suddenly disappeared for no apparent reason.

The camp dog is the clearest proof of the nature of this strange life. One of the workers brought him as a pup to play in the camp. He ran happily around the camp until he met a jackal and went to play with him. The jackal soon gnawed off half of his tail, and the dog hurried back so terrified that it lost its voice. It still does not bark, despite its size and age.

Atomic Materials Youth

Nevertheless, you can only be delighted and sense the hope in the young geologists whose forms materialize around you under the evening light of the rest house:

- Geologist 'Adil al-Afandi, the head of the camp, has a master's degree and is preparing to defend his doctoral dissertation. A 1976 science graduate of al-Mansurah University, he has worked in the agency since 1979. He is married and has a daughter. His eyes gleam as he tells how she acts with Uncle Fu'ad in the Ramadan Riddles children's programs.
- 'Abd-al-Ghani Faw is preparing a master's thesis. A 1978 honors graduate of Asyut University in science, he is responsible for radiation monitoring. He is married and has a son.
- Abu-al-Futuh 'Abd-al-Ra'uf is preparing a masters thesis. He is a 1981 science graduate of Sawhaj University with a grade of very good. He has been working since 1985.
- Hamdi Mahmud, a 1983 science graduate of Alexandria University, is preparing a doctoral dissertation. He is married with children.
- 'Adil Fu'ad is preparing to defend his master's. He graduated in science from 'Ayn Shams University in 1985 with a grade of very good and honors.

Yellow Paste

With these liberated minds and youthful hearts, it has become possible to realize the Atomic Materials Agency's 40-year dream of obtaining the "yellow dough" of uranium ore in the Egyptian deserts. Thus was I told by Dr. 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Halim, head of the research section and supervisor of the agency's development departments.

The first uranium crusher has now arrived at the Umm Ara area. It was recently imported at a price of about three-quarters of a million pounds. It arrived at the port of Alexandria and was transported to Aswan. Foundations are now being built to set it up at the mine site.

Three months from now the crusher will start crushing the result of the blasts at the mine—currently estimated at 2,500 cubic meters—and turning it into gravel measuring from 2 to 10 cubic centimeters. It will then be piled in special basins, where it will be sprayed with sulfuric acid in a closed cycle for 13 weeks during which the ore will dissolve in the acid, which will then go to laboratories for concentration. The uranium ore will be obtained in the form of a yellow paste for delivery to the Atomic Energy Agency, which will handle its subsequent processing.

In the meantime, work at the promising mine will be developed by increasing the number of trenches and implementing a program of deep excavation to 100 meters. This important event will entail future participation in the celebrations for the implementation of this work at the site now in its first stages. This is what we shall do on a future trip for this purpose, God willing.

Gas Export Strategy, Potential Reviewed

94LD0027A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
11 Feb 94 pp 14-15, 67

[Article by Ghali Muhammad]

[Text] Will Egypt export natural gas to Israel? This is the week's question. But this question is not the real issue that is presently being forcefully raised in numerous Egyptian circles.

If Qatar has preceded Egypt and has actually agreed to export gas to Israel—executive steps are being taken currently behind the scenes in this regard—then this is a purely Qatari affair and it has no connection whatsoever with the Egyptian issue. The Egyptian issue centers initially on the question of whether Egypt has any surplus natural gas to export abroad, and secondly on the question of exporting to Israel just like any other country.

The answer to this question will lead us to the answer to the week's question, which we will put aside until the end of this report.

To begin, there is no disagreement that natural gas is a main component of energy now. Rather, all expectations

are that in the coming phase, natural gas will play the main role in meeting the energy demand that is growing as a result of increased development rates. Moreover, natural gas will, as petroleum experts say, be the driving force in the energy field. This is insofar as the international situation is concerned. As for Egypt, energy concerns will focus on natural gas following the discovery of more gas reserves and the increased use of gas to replace liquid petroleum derivatives for numerous purposes, the latest of which is the use of gas [as fuel] for buses. Moreover, this increased use of gas will alleviate the pressure on oil consumption. Oil finds and reserves are not increasing at the same pace as natural gas finds and reserves.

Petroleum Minister Hamdi al-Banbi's asserts that Egypt's natural gas reserves amounted to 21 trillion cubic feet on 1 January 1994, whereas confirmed reserves totaled 12 trillion cubic feet last year.

The petroleum minister added that the total reserve from which gas is pumped into the national gas network does not exceed 8.6 trillion cubic feet. But with the tendency to replace oil derivatives with gas, it is necessary to increase this reserve in order to meet domestic demand and to allocate the surplus for export.

It is not expected that discovered gas fields will be developed and ready for use before the lapse of five years at least. In this period, the foreign firms that have discovered these fields are expected to spend \$5 million to make these fields ready to pump gas and to be connected with the national gas pipeline network.

On a related issue, Petroleum Minister Hamdi al-Banbi has said that these reserves have to be increased in order to meet the increase in demand for natural gas, estimated at 5 percent annually. It is expected that the consumption rate will exceed one trillion cubic feet annually by the year 1997. This means that it is necessary to secure gas supplies amounting to 1.3 trillion cubic feet annually.

Growing Consumption

After discussing the anticipated reserves and recent [estimates] of the potential use of natural gas, we shift to the figures of the Petroleum Authority on the role of natural gas in Egypt's energy system. Engineer Muhammad Tawilah, the Petroleum Authority vice chairman for natural gas affairs, points out that gas consumption in 1980-81 was roughly 1.9 million tons, representing 14 percent of the total domestic consumption of oil derivatives, which totaled 13.3 million tons.

In 1992-93, gas consumption amounted to 8.2 million tons, representing 31 percent of the total domestic consumption of oil derivatives, which totaled 26.6 million tons.

Since gas production started, Egypt has consumed a gas volume equaling 715 million barrels of crude oil, meaning that Egypt has saved a volume of crude oil, valued at \$13 billion. The cost of development, of

building the gas treatment facilities and the transportation and distribution network, and of operating the gas network amounted to \$2.5 billion by the end of 1993.

Engineer Muhammad Tawilah has said that several sectors have begun to use gas instead of oil. The electricity sector tops the list of gas consumers with 64 percent [of the consumption], followed by the nitrogenous fertilizer plants with 15 percent, and the construction and ceramics sector with 5 percent, and, finally, home use which does not exceed 1 percent.

Generally, the economic value of replacing liquid fuel with gas in various sectors since gas use was begun, until June 1993 amounts to \$11 billion.

This is for consumption. As for production, the figures show, according to the Petroleum Authority vice chairman, that gas production rose from 85 billion cubic feet in 1980/81 to 377 billion cubic feet in 1992/93. The delta and Mediterranean fields, Abu-Madi, Shamalah, and Abu-Qir fields contribute 53 percent of the total natural gas production. The Western Desert fields of Badr-al-Din, Abu-Sinan, and Abu-al-Gharadiq contribute 34 percent and the Suez Gulf fields produce 13 percent.

A number of projects are being implementation and will enter the production phase soon, such as the Trans-Gulf Gas Project, the project to extract butane gas in al-'Amiriyah, and the marine compressors project at Abu-Qir.

All these areas fall within the bounds of the confirmed reserve, which amounted to 12 trillion cubic feet last year. But with the discovered new finds, the reserves have risen to 21 trillion cubic feet. Thus, there are now new fields in several areas that need to be developed.

Self-Sufficiency!

In light of all these figures, the question that arises is: has Egypt achieved self-sufficiency in gas?

Engineer Muhammad Tawilah has said, "To date, the domestic market hasn't reached the point of gas saturation. It still needs more. Assuming that the new reserves, estimated at 9 trillion cubic feet—a figure confirmed at the beginning of January 1994—are not developed, there will be a shortfall ranging from 620 [number as published] million to 300 million cubic feet daily in the short run, until 1998/99. The shortfall will then resurface after the year 2000 and will grow to reach 1.3 billion cubic feet daily by the year 2009/10.

"But in case the new reserves—estimated at 9 trillion cubic feet, raising the confirmed reserve to 21 trillion cubic feet—are developed, then a gas surplus will begin to appear in Egypt, beginning at about 200 million cubic feet daily by 1998/99 and rising to 1.4 billion cubic feet daily by the year 2010. These reserves have been calculated on the basis of achieving self-sufficiency and of meeting the needs of power stations and of plants located

close to the unified gas network. As for delivering gas to Chema Aswan and to the other parts of Upper Egypt, it isn't economical, because huge investments will be needed to lay down gas pipelines. Who will shoulder these costs?

"These surpluses have also been determined without taking into account any expected new finds in this period. As for self-sufficiency, the criterion is based on economically meeting the needs of the consumers who are close to the network."

To Europe and Israel

Within the bounds of this information, it is expected that there will be a natural gas surplus of close to 200 million cubic feet in the final year of this century, increasing to 1.4 billion cubic feet by the year 2010. Accordingly, the question is: where will this natural gas surplus go?

If the answer is, of course, that it has to be exported to the outside world, then to what region will it be exported? Petroleum experts say that according to economic feasibility, to market economy, and to supply and demand in particular, the surplus will go to southern Europe, because this region will absorb large quantities of gas in the first decade of the next century. It is well known that most European countries, excluding France, have suspended programs to produce electricity from nuclear energy. In light of the environmental restraints and controls have increased the cost of coal-operated power plants, natural gas will be the natural alternative for electricity production. Accordingly, expectations indicate that demand for natural gas in the southern European countries will rise to 6.3 trillion cubic feet [annually] by the year 2010, whereas gas supply from the current sources, namely from the commonwealth countries, Norway, the Netherlands, and Algeria will amount to 4.2 trillion cubic feet [annually] in the same year, i.e., 2010. This means that the shortfall will amount to nearly two trillion cubic feet.

To export the gas surplus to the southern European countries, Israel has to be the station through which the pipeline transits.

Three Reasons

A preparatory question is demanded for this answer before we answer the question of the week, namely the question of whether Egypt will export natural gas to Israel. This preparatory question asks: why does the Egyptian pipeline have to go through Israel? The answer is that there are several reasons that make this selection beneficial to the Egyptian market:

First, the natural gas finds are not as big as those discovered in the Arab Gulf states and Algeria. Therefore, the pipeline has to pass through dry lands in order to reduce construction cost. Consequently, the pipeline has to go to Europe through either Israel or Turkey.

If the finds were very big, the pipeline could go across the Mediterranean Sea, where the cost would be high because of deep water. This alternative is not available to Egypt.

Second, extending a natural gas pipeline to Europe through dry lands will enable the pipeline to pass through more than one country. Consequently, natural gas can be sold to these countries, namely Turkey, Israel, Jordan, and the state of Palestine.

Third, in any case, Egypt will not be the only Arab country that will be supplying gas to a gas pipeline going to Europe through Israel. Some Arab Gulf countries will also supply such a pipeline.

To build this pipeline from Qatar to Israel, the pipeline has to go through Saudi territory. Two days ago, Israel Radio attributed to Israeli Energy Minister Moshe Shahal the statement that a pipeline to deliver natural gas from Arab countries to Israel—meaning the Israeli-Qatari accord—will be constructed sooner than expected.

Regarding this last point, the idea of constructing a gas pipeline from Qatar across Saudi Arabia to Egypt's Mediterranean coast, from whence to export gas by tankers to Europe after building liquefying plants—this idea was raised previously. But it has not seen the light to date.

Diverse Strategy

This is insofar as Egypt and Qatar are concerned. But what about Israel? To put it more precisely, what is Israel's strategy for acquiring natural gas?

According to available information, the Israeli strategy is to acquire natural gas as a clean fuel to replace some liquid oil derivatives that are polluting Israel's environment. Israel's strategy is to obtain the natural gas it needs from Egypt and the Arab Gulf states by way of Qatar, from which a pipeline will be constructed, passing through Israel and Turkey to Europe. Moreover, Israel is thinking of obtaining natural gas from a third Arab country. This strategy can only become a practical reality in the context of peace in the Middle East.

Within this context, Israel is eager to diversify its natural gas sources rather than rely on the monopoly of a single country, especially since the indications are that there will be increased use of natural gas to desalinate sea water in the future.

To underline the idea that Israel will be a transit station for the Egyptian and Qatari gas pipelines to Europe, [one should note that] Israel's gas demand will amount to 1.4 billion cubic feet daily by the year 2010. This volume is smaller than the volume that will be pumped from Egypt and Qatar by then. Therefore, the main export activity will be to the European countries.

So, why does Israel want natural gas from Egypt? As already noted, the pipeline has to be extended to Europe

through dry land. Moreover, if a pipeline is built from Port Said to Israel, Egypt will not shoulder the cost, which will amount to \$300 million. Here, we ask the Ministry of Petroleum why it does not consider setting up a joint company between the Petroleum Authority and foreign firms that produce gas in Egypt to finance and operate this pipeline. This will be a better situation for Egypt.

Expectations suggest that Israel's demand for Egyptian natural gas will amount to 250 million cubic feet daily. This is a small amount equaling the consumption of two power plants.

It is well known that this is not the first time Egypt has dealt with Israel in the oil area. The fact is that Israel has been purchasing Egyptian oil for 15 years at international prices. Therefore, the Ministry of Petroleum sees no difference between exporting crude oil or natural gas as long as Israel observes Egyptian rules and regulations. Moreover, Egypt will sell gas to Israel at the international price prevailing at the time of export, without any exceptions. Furthermore, Egypt cannot compel foreign partners not to export their share of the natural gas to Israel. If this project is carried out, Egypt will benefit from the installations and will export its natural gas at a lower cost.

In a related development, Excelsior (name illegible), an Israeli firm located in al-Ramlah, has held contacts with firms in the region in preparation for implementing in Israel complementary projects that will emanate from extending gas pipelines from the Arab Gulf countries and Egypt.

Another aspect is that Egypt has set its sight on enabling the newborn state of Palestine to benefit from its natural gas, considering that Israel can secure gas from various sources, whereas it will be difficult for any country to supply the state of Palestine with gas.

Another side of the picture is summed up in this question: why is Egypt considering natural gas export?

Oil experts assert that as soon as the Ministry of Petroleum announces the export of gas to any country, the announcement will attract international firms to prospect in areas where gas is likely to exist in the delta, in the deep waters of the Mediterranean Sea, and in the Western Desert. The reason why firms will show interest is that they make their calculations on the basis of market volume. If the market is confined to Egypt, international firms will feel less secure. But if there are other markets to absorb the gas, firms will come to work with a feeling of total security. It is to be noted that Europe is heading for increased gas use. Consequently, gas prices will rise in the future.

The other point is that it is extremely important to export natural gas in order to bolster Egyptian exports and the general budget.

It is evident to date that the natural gas pipeline is scheduled to extend from Egypt to Israel by 1998. But this schedule is tied to several considerations:

First, completing the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

Second, that Egypt will not conclude any accord with Israel unless the Egyptian Ministry of Petroleum concludes agreements with international firms to develop the current finds, requiring nearly \$5 billion. This is the answer to the week's question of whether Egypt will export natural gas to Israel.

Youth Political Training Advocated to Curb Extremism

94LD0025B Cairo MAYU in Arabic 7 Mar 94 p 5

[Article by Ashraf Abu-Sayf: "The 'Ulama' of Islam Unable to Face the Problem Alone"]

[Text] Confronting extremist and terrorist groups is a problem that requires political activism and cannot be left to Islamic advocates only since the crisis is political in nature and removed from the faith which the extremists peddle. There are puppet masters behind the scenes who pull the strings of those extremists.

The issue calls for men who discuss and debate the dangers that threaten Egypt and the challenges that face it. Their weapon would be intellect and they would have the ability to challenge destructive ideologies packaged in religious wrapping.

This calls for political education, for raising citizen awareness of national causes, and for developing in everyone the spirit of joint action.

Political parties, no matter their orientation, have responsibility for realizing that objective.

The politicians whom MAYU approached emphasized that political education is capable of challenging the deviant minority and pointed out that reliance on instruction, rather than on indoctrination, would help contain the ideologies of those groups that are manipulated in the background against the interests of the motherland. Political awareness would prevent them from ensnaring new elements in their nets.

Political Awareness

Dr. Mufid Shihab, chancellor of Cairo University and president of the Consultative Council's Foreign Affairs and National Security Committee emphasized that political parties must act in the manner of a school to raise political cadres through political instruction programs and through true partisan practices.

He explained: "Creating political cadres can only be accomplished by offering theoretical educational programs at party schools and by empowering youth leaders to assume responsibility at all levels. Any political party

that lacks political cadres versed and active in political action, or that lacks schools or facilities for political instruction, would lose effectiveness among the rank and file."

He added that the political education of youth, either within the parties, via the media of information, or through school and university programs, would create desired political awareness and keen understanding of national issues of various dimensions. It would also enhance patriotic sentiment and increase commitment to societal causes, thereby ending the apathy we note among most citizens, and especially youth.

He pointed out that apathy aids and encourages the deviant minority to be influential with its operations and ideology, unchallenged by those who consciously reason and realize the threats posed by waves of terrorism.

He added that this apathy of intellect and of challenge is the natural outcome of the absence of political awareness. The absence of political awareness is caused by the lack and deficiency of political education to which all the parties and concerned ministries must contribute, especially the ministries of Culture, Information, Awqaf, and Education.

Gains

Muhammad Kamal Sulayman, assistant secretary general of the Nationalist Party in Cairo, believes that "we are in dire need of institutions to prepare political leaders and political advocates who understand national issues and problems. Their job would be to explain and analyze the gains made by this motherland as well as defend and explain the various national issues that may elude many a simple person and which terrorist groups are the worst exploiters."

He added that such a role should not be limited only to the Nationalist Party but should be assumed by all political parties in the field.

He explained that youth training would generate a goodly number of political cadres who are able to debate and who are instilled with a nationalist ideology and capable of argument and resistance.

Several gains would accrue to us as a result.

First, the ability to win over the masses to join political parties, thereby ending the apathy and political vacuum that plague us.

Second, create an inter-party climate of democratic debate, which would serve the interests of the motherland.

He emphasized that we can, with lucid political instruction, create a generation capable of serving and defending the motherland should it be exposed to a threat such as that of terrorism. Those educated cadres would be capable of convincing the masses that such a threat really exists, utilizing their ability to debate

extremist ideologies that undermine the public interest. The first precept of political education is to raise a generation instilled with the desire to defend and protect the motherland and equipped with the ability to differentiate between opposition to the government, if such a position is taken, and positions antithetic to the national interest, such as those taken by terrorist groups.

Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id, secretary general of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping, said that "political advocates have not vanished altogether. Some are still playing their roles but others are hesitant as a result of threats that originate not only with the self-proclaimed Islamist terrorists but with certain newspapers that do not have the right idea on how to confront terrorism.

That is why many of those with viewpoints to express lack the means of dissemination in the face of a flood of opposing publications that are well-printed and well-financed and consequently cheaper in price. The concept of energizing political activism requires solidarity among various intellectuals and writers who fight terrorism, and who sometimes go as far as countering some of the allegations propagated by terrorists.

He explained that the development of political cadres requires reforming the educational process as well as cultural and informational curricula in order to rectify the general climate, blunt the edge of extremism in all our endeavors, and seek the creation of an intellectual climate characterized by understanding and the desire to approach, discuss, and debate all our problems without preconceived views. Should this become the attitude of opponents, or perceived opponents, among the forces that reject such terrorism and its originators, activists, propagators, and supporters—then that solidarity could provide those advocates with greater opportunities and endow them with stronger influence. Such solidarity would also reduce the prickliness of political parties because it would create for us activists who are enlightened and capable of influencing youths.

Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id believes that the '60s experience proved the ineffectiveness of the Youth Organization that had hoped to develop political awareness in young people. The organization's modus operandi was based on mere indoctrination, rendering its graduates mere parrots repeating what they heard with no effort to debate, discuss, modify what should be amended, or correct what should be corrected.

The methodology, therefore, must be instruction and not indoctrination. The two concepts are worlds apart. Education opens the door to the mind and creates visions that enable their possessors to understand, espouse, amend, and develop as well as reject the ideologies proposed to them and therefore become the ones capable of influencing others.

We Lack

Mamduh Thabit Makki, member of the People's Assembly and vice president of the Federation of Egyptian Industries, said that "we lack what we might call political leaders or political cadres armed with a great deal of superior intellect and culture and extensive familiarity with political action techniques, and who also possess comprehensive awareness of societal conditions that would enable them to challenge many destructive ideologies and principles as well as the claims of those working against the interests of the motherland."

He added that the intellectual development of political cadres should be accomplished through training institutions within the various parties in order to become familiar with the party's political ideology and be able to defend it and explain it to others. Party members should also be given an opportunity to progress through the various stages of preparing political thought, i.e., participate at all partisan levels. That is the way to develop generations capable of facing and convincing the masses, rather than letting the common citizen become fertile ground for the purveyors of destructive ideologies.

Energizing

Kamal Henry Badir, chairman of the People's Assembly's Committee for National Security, says that "responsibility for the political education of individuals rests primarily with political parties that must raise the consciousness of their individuals and members. That would require intensifying political action all the way down to hamlets and small partisan units and elevating [assigning more responsible roles] to those able to contribute and serve society and champion its causes.

"Such political awareness could be developed through caravans of enlightenment, whose participants would include al-Azhar, the Mufti, the Ministry of Information, and individuals with influence on youth. They must make it clear to youth not only that terrorism is anti-thetic to all religions, and especially to Islam which urges mercy and compassion, but also that the motherland is hurt by terrorist actions and that strikes against tourists and foreigners burden the motherland with wide-ranging losses.

Promoting Joint Action

Dr. Mustafa Kamil al-Sayyid, professor of political science at Cairo University, believes that the development of political awareness is a function of individual participation in social and political activity. This requires doing everything possible to promote joint action at all local and national levels, reexamining election laws and procedures, and removing the restrictions with which Cooperatives Law No. 32 of 1964 is replete.

It would also require giving partisan and political forces more access to the information media, especially radio and television, in order to make citizens feel that political participation is of value in the sense that when the

various authorities become responsive to people's wishes expressed in the information media, everyone would realize the value of participating.

Dr. Mustafa Kamil al-Sayyid explained that the challenge to the phenomenon of terrorism should be all-inclusive because the causes underlying it are numerous and are political, economic, and ideological in nature.

Dr. Jamal Zahran, professor of political science at Suez Canal University, believes that raising youth with a fair degree of comprehensive religious and political awareness is the best way to immunize them against sliding towards [falling into the trap of] extremist ideologies then resorting to violence as an expression of opinion.

He added that such an education can be imparted through the information media and school curricula and through the example of good role models by educators and those in charge of political parties.

IRAQ

Kurdish Jews Said Numbering 100,000 in Israel

94LH0032A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
25 Feb 94 p 18

[Article by Kamran Qurrah Daghi—first two paragraph AL-HAYAH introduction]

[Text] A few years ago, some Israeli Kurds presented a theatrical play by the name of "I am a Kurd." In response to a question about the reason for choosing this name, one of those who had taken part in the play answered saying: "We wanted to send a message to the Israeli people telling them that it is easy to be a Kurd."

Kamran Qurrah Daghi believes that this response is an indication that there is a Jewish-Kurdish special relationship that started in the year 720 BC.

Kurdish Jews in Israel cherish their Kurdish identity and sympathize with and support Muslim Kurds. Israeli Kurds compare the annihilation of Iraqi Kurds in the al-Anfal and Halbajah operations in May 1988, when poisonous gas was used, to the annihilation of Jews during the Holocaust. At the time of the above mentioned operations, Kurdish Jews organized protest campaigns and tried to adopt those children who were saved in Halbajah. However, Turkey, where a large number of Iraqi Kurds had taken refuge, refused to help Kurdish Jews reach their goals.

Moreover, Israeli Kurds tried to give humanitarian support to Iraqi Kurds during the refugee catastrophe in April 1991, yet, sensitive relations with Turkey hindered that; they still do to the present day.

Kurdish Jews state that their emigration to Israel was to flee neither ethnic nor religious persecution, but was due to their Zionist affiliation. Until now, they continue to have their affiliation with Kurdistan. If Kurdish Jews are

to be compared with the Jews of Baghdad, it is found that the isolated mountainous geographic environment has impacted the Kurdish Jews and made them cling to Kurdish rather than to Arab or Turkish values. Though Kurdish Jews have been in Israel for decades, the non-religious aspects of their culture, such as language, customs, and social values, have not much changed.

However, as for the new generation of Kurds born in Israel, because they have had no contact with the Kurdish society, it is found that their understanding of Kurdish affiliation is different from that of the generation raised in Kurdistan. Nevertheless, the latter feel that if the current political circumstances continue to prevail, their Kurdish life-style might vanish in the long run.

This state of affairs made Israeli Kurds long very much for their past Kurdish environment. It is the elderly from among them, in particular, who are bound to feel the pain when Israeli Kurds become cut off from their roots. Even the youths still cling to Kurdish customs, such as food, dance, music, and even sometimes the Kurdish language, which many of these youth insist on learning. Moreover, Kurdish Jews in Israel are still inclined to intermarry.

In order to remain in touch with the Kurdish culture, the national council of the Society for Kurdish Jews in Israel in 1971 decided to organize an annual festival [Saharanah] for the Israeli Kurdish community. This festival is a good opportunity for them to "express their joy, brotherly feelings, and to bring back to life the prayers, singing, dancing, food, costumes, and life-style of this ethnic group. This culture developed over about 3,000 years while the group lived in Kurdistan." Around 25,000 to 30,000 Kurdish Jews take part in this two-day open-air festival. The head of state, the prime minister, and other official dignitaries usually attend this festival. Yitzhaq Rabin, the current prime minister, inaugurated the last festival.

Before establishing the Jewish state in 1948, there were about 20,000 Kurdish Jews in Palestine. Between 1950 and 1951, another 40,000 Kurdish Jews immigrated to Israel from Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan. Kurdish Jews in Israel are currently estimated at 100,000, most of whom have come from Iraqi Kurdistan. In Jerusalem 35,000 of the 100,000 Kurdish Jews live; in Tiberias, 5,000; in Haifa, 7,000; and in the settlements and the rest of Israel, about 20,000.

A number of Kurdish Jews have become prominent in Israel's political and public life. Some of these are representatives and prominent members of political parties and municipalities. Habib Shaymuni [name as transliterated], current president of the Organization for Kurdish Jews, who was born in the Iraqi Kurdish city of 'Aqrah, was a Labor Party member of the Knesset. However, the most prominent Kurdish Jew would be General Yitzhaq Mordekhay, commander of the northern front, who was also born in the city of 'Aqrah and is considered one of the most active of Israeli Kurds.

This elite group of Kurdish politicians, lawyers, and academicians took the initiative to establish an organization that brought together Kurdish Jews in Israel. This organization is especially interested in cultural activities. Besides, it tries to establish relations with Kurds resident outside Israel. It also supports Kurdish researchers and artists and sometimes invites them to visit Israel. However, the activities of the organization outside Israel remains limited, because it cannot establish relations with Iraqi, Iranian, or Syrian Kurds. The organization therefore has contacts only with Kurds resident either in Europe or in the United States. Israeli Kurds can only visit Turkish Kurdistan, which they do in disguise. Moreover, with the worsening of the Kurdish-Turkish war, these visits have become difficult.

Travelers and scholars who visited Kurdistan from the 12th to the 20th century indicated that there were Jews who shared the life-style of Muslim Kurds living among the Muslims. This meant that honor and disgrace were important values for Kurdish Jews just as they were for the Kurdish society as a whole. Only religious rituals differentiated Jews from either Christians or Muslims in Kurdistan.

A number of Kurdish Jews immigrated to Palestine at the beginning of the 20th century, yet, most of the rest immigrated in the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. Between 1970 and 1973, about 3,000 Jews, who had remained in Baghdad, helped the Kurds flee across the Kurdish borders to Iran, from where they traveled to Israel. It is no secret that through Iran, Israel offered material and military aid to the Kurdish movement in Iraq during the 1963-74 period. The original language of the first generation of Kurdish Jews in Israel was Aramaic, which resembles contemporary Hebrew and is sometimes wrongly called "Kurdish" in Israel. Their second language was Kurdish, which was dominated by the "Karmangi" [as transliterated] dialect. These languages were followed by Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. However, currently, Hebrew is considered the first language for the majority of Israeli Kurds.

It seems strange that the Israeli Kurdish environment is the only one where the term "Kurdistan" is used officially and legally. Many Kurds do not know which country currently rules the region where their ancestors lived. The museum of Israel in Jerusalem displays some samples that are described as "Kurdish" so that they may be distinguished from "Iranian," "Turkish," or "Iraqi."

Kurdish Jews came to this homeland in the first temple era. Some Kurdish Jews believe that they are the descendants of the 10 Jewish tribes that the Assyrians captured and enslaved after they destroyed the Kingdom of Israel in 720 BC. They were joined by the Jews captured and enslaved in Babylon 150 years later. Since that time, Jewish settlements were established in this region. However, for geographic reasons, these settlements soon lost contact with the Jewish centers in Babylon. However, in spite of this isolation, Kurdish Jews managed to preserve

their religion and religious identity. In the 12th century, a messianic movement sprang up. It was led by two false "messiahs," Miyhim ben Shalumu ibn Ruhi [name as transliterated][?Shlomo Molkho] and David al-Ruwi [name as transliterated][?David Ha'renveni], after whom the Jews named the first settlement in Kurdistan.

In the 13th century, the Moguls invaded Iraq and a large number of Jews fled to the Kurdistan mountains where they built settlements in protected areas. Due to the national instability that lasted for many centuries, because of the struggle between Kurds and Ottomans, many Jews were killed. However, Jews did not face any religious persecution from Muslim Kurds. There were natural social relations between Jews and Kurds; friendships were also established between the heads of families.

Kurdish Jews had developed folklore-type literature inspired by the Old Testament. Music using drums and flutes, which are the two instruments common all over Kurdistan, accompanied their dancing and singing. Like Kurds, both men and women take part in Kurdish dancing [al-Dabkah]. Kurdish Jews verbally transmit from one generation to another stories from their folklore, relating historic events.

However, because there were no religious schools [Yishivot] in Kurdistan, Jews who wished to study Judaism had to go to Baghdad. One of the two prominent rabbis in Baghdad was of Kurdish descent. Only a few Kurdish Jews who resided in al-Mawsil and Karkuk could provide a European-style education for their children after the British occupation of Iraq.

Since the beginning of the 18th century, relations have been fostered between Kurdish Jews and Jewish centers in Palestine. A group of Kurdish Jews immigrated to Palestine in 1812 and resided in Jerusalem. However, the major immigration happened after the establishment of the Jewish State in 1950 and 1951. This immigration was known as the two campaigns of "Ezrah" and "Nehemiah." Currently, only a few Jews are left in Iranian, Turkish, and Syrian Kurdistan.

Will the new peace and openness between peoples open these folders that have remained closed and abandoned for a long time?

TUNISIA

LTDH Director Discusses Membership, Agenda
94AF0129A Tunis REALITES in Arabic 24 Feb 94
pp 6-8

[Interview with Taoufik Bouderbala, the new director of the Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH—Ligue Tunisienne des droits de l'Homme), by Ziyad Karichan and Lotfi Hajji; place and date not given—first four paragraphs REALITES introduction]

[Text] For more than a year, the LTDH [Tunisian Human Rights League] has experienced a truly exceptional situation, unprecedented in its history. After a marathon effort in recent months, the League has been able to lay the ground for its fourth conference, renew all of its branches, and—most importantly—reanimate and revitalize its cadres.

The "exceptional" in all that has happened is that the League has been able to once again draw attention to itself, after many had dismissed it.

The League has salvaged itself despite all that has been said and is being said regarding the holding of its conference, the election of its leadership, and its resumption of regular activity.

Moments after the announcement of the final results of the vote [on the composition of the new board of directors], the new board of directors elected a new director by a consensus of all of its members. He is Taoufik Bouderbala, who was the secretary general in the outgoing board. Given Taoufik Bouderbala's previous and current responsibilities, no one is more suited than he to speak of the League's past, present, and future. He granted his first press interview to REALITES [AL-HAQA'IQ], for which we are thankful. Let us listen to him.

[REALITES] Now that you have caught your breath after the marathon preparations for your fourth conference, how do you assess the results, before, during, and immediately after the conference?

[Bouderbala] My initial, basic assessment is that the League succeeded in preparing and holding the conference and in forming a board of directors according to its bylaws and articles of association. It should be emphasized that preparation for the conference lasted more than four months, during which the previous board of directors held numerous meetings to study the admission of new members, the branches' conferences, and preparations for the conference. The board of directors issued statements inviting all those wishing to join the League, whose precepts are compatible with the League's articles of association, to apply for membership.

The board of directors delegated a five-member committee to check the lists of membership applicants submitted by the 41 branches. The lists were then submitted to the board of directors, which held five meetings to check the lists. We made some revisions upon the request of the branches or members of the board of directors. We did not go forward with the conference until after the outgoing board of directors approved by consensus the lists of persons joining all 41 branches. Immediately after that, we established an agenda to renew the branches' cadres. We agreed that this would be done through elections or consensual installation if we were unable to hold an electoral session. However, thank God, we were able to hold 41 general sessions in public places with complete openness, with the attendance of at

least three-quarters of the members of the branches, and with the supervision of the board of directors.

No pressure of any type was exerted. However, we encountered difficulties in three branches concerning members and the composition of the branch. Some members did not accept the covenant and wanted to hold an electoral session without consideration of the covenant before elections. However, the brothers who were supervising were able, after a dialogue with the members, to install cadres with everyone's agreement (these branches are in Nafta, Jendouba, and Beja).

[REALITES] This is not the first time that you have personally participated in a League conference. Did you feel that you were participating in a regular conference? Or did you have a different feeling?

[Bouderbala] I felt that we were in an ordinary conference, because we applied our articles of association and all of the requirements of these articles. Hence, we called it the fourth national conference of the League. As for the content of the conference, it concerned the situation the League has been experiencing. The emphasis was on the independence of the League and its decisionmaking, and the need for it to exist, so that it can perform its normal functions. The conferees all indicated that they have no wish to return to the stagnation and paralysis of the League prior to the conference.

[REALITES] For the first time in the League's history, a unanimous or near unanimous agreement was not reached regarding the League's board of directors. Two competing lists were submitted to the conference. Do you attribute this situation to the "League Covenant" list's certainty of its absolute victory in elections, which is what actually happened, or to the fact that the competing list, "the Independence List," put forth conditions you considered unfair and impracticable?

[Bouderbala] I do not believe that matters were decided before the conference. However, at the conference, some conferees wanted or pretended to forget the League's principles. We have tried to preserve the League's existence without being in a position that would permit any party to infringe on its legal and de facto existence. The conference is not a revocation of the League's previous decisions.

All of the parties attempted to uphold the covenant and to agree on a list with a maximum of 30 individuals. However, we found that some parties refused to enter into this covenant or wanted to enter the covenant on their own terms.

[REALITES] This conference indicated that there is a majority position and a minority position (almost a third) within the League. How will you deal with this situation in the future?

[Bouderbala] In the wake of the conference, we do not believe that there is a minority or majority in the League.

The conference is first and foremost the League's conference. The board of directors that was elected is the board of directors of the League, which is to say all of the League's activists. It will not discriminate between League members, and it will transcend all of the competition that occurred between individuals or the two lists during the conference. The competition now focuses on the League's work. The board of directors will continue its work with all of the branches. It will formulate programs in coordination with all of the branches and then announce those programs.

[REALITES] The current board of directors has undergone major renewal and rejuvenation. Will this new situation impede the League's activity and spread?

[Bouderbala] I do not think so. Renewal indicates the presence of new, exuberant life in the organization. We do not believe that the activists who have borne responsibility for the branches and struggled within them lack adequate experience to continue the struggle along with the "veterans." They have the same experience in the struggle, but on another level. The important thing is to combine all efforts, so that the League can continue its struggle. The League has existed for 17 years. The new members of the board of directors were trained and gained experience within the League. The League has been able to train a generation of activists in its core cadres. These activists have advanced within the League to positions of responsibility. No outside party imposed these activists. They are products of the League.

[REALITES] The League now has close to 4,300 members. However, the outgoing board of directors deferred for your consideration the status of 1,800 membership applicants. How will you proceed in this regard, especially given that many have expressed fear that these new members, if they are accepted, will significantly disrupt the balance of power in the League?

[Bouderbala] We have agreed on this matter. We said that those who have expressed a desire to join the League must not be disregarded. The outgoing board of directors recommended to the branches' boards that they give priority to admitting these applicants when the admission process begins in 1994. Naturally, only those who fulfill the requirements and criteria we established in late 1993 will be admitted, all within the limits of the branch's capacity. Perhaps the League will in the future—even though it might be premature—create new branches. In this case, priority will be given to these 1,800 applicants, always bearing in mind that any citizen wishing to join the League must fulfill the criteria and qualifications on which we have agreed.

Then (starting in 1994), the new bylaws, which were amended in the conference, will be applied to new applicants. Under the amended bylaws, a new entrant must remain a candidate for two years before becoming an active member. After that, the new member can assume responsibility within the branch's board. Then,

after being a member for five years, a member can be nominated to the board of directors.

[REALITES] What are the most pressing issues now facing you, following the League's year-long period of frozen activity?

[Bouderbala] Our first concern is to restore the tie between the board of directors and the branches and to set up the League's structures by delegating committees to submit draft programs in all fields, legal, economic, and cultural. After the board of directors and branches approve these draft programs, they will begin to be implemented. The League's main role is to educate and thus inculcate the philosophy of human rights in all citizens, regardless of their affiliations and theories. This is a difficult task requiring persistence, endurance, and insistence on principle.

Parallel with this activity, we will continue to support and defend freedoms, monitor all violations, and undertake all contacts and interventions needed to limit and contain these violations.

We will also make efforts to develop human rights projects, following the country's experience regarding the amendment of several laws, especially the Protection [ihtifaz] Law, Associations Law, and Press Law. This does not mean that we will exclude other issues.

The League will undertake these tasks simultaneously on all tracks.

[REALITES] All of the participants in the conference, regardless of their political tendencies, agreed to reject the amendments introduced to the Associations Law. Do you intend to undertake tangible initiatives in this regard?

[Bouderbala] The board of directors adheres to the League's positions that preceded the conference and that were emphasized during the conference. In other words, the board of directors still rejects the amendments introduced to the Associations Law on 2 April 1992. The League has submitted to the administrative court a challenge to the classification decision issued in May 1992. We are waiting for the administrative court's decision.

[REALITES] And in the meantime?

[Bouderbala] In the meantime, we have been reclaiming our legal existence by:

1. The administrative court's decision, which suspended the classification decision.
2. The election of a board of directors that will make efforts to continue defending this position according to the general bylaws issued at the conference, which affirm the board of directors' decisions that provide the League with a legal existence to continue its struggle.

[REALITES] And regarding freedoms?

[Bouderbala] The board of directors will continue its efforts within its committees by resuming its reception of citizens and complaints. It will intervene with the authorities and wait for solutions and responses. If it becomes clear that a response or solution is not forthcoming, the League will issue statements to inform public opinion and to alert the authorities.

[REALITES] Some members of the League are now expressing fear regarding the League's independence. Is this fear justified?

[Bouderbala] For me, the League's independence is a settled matter. The League is either independent or not independent. It will continue its efforts in complete independence. The composition of the current board of directors, like that of previous boards of directors, is the greatest guarantee of this independence.

[REALITES] What is the content of this independence?

[Bouderbala] It consists of the fact that decisions flow from the board of directors and the members' consciences.

[REALITES] Must the League remain a counterbalance in order to guarantee its independence? Or are there other forms of independence that you are now considering?

[Bouderbala] The League is a nongovernmental counterbalance. In other words, it is an independent organization. It does not receive orders from any party, including the government, political parties, or any other pressure group. Nor does it issue orders to anyone. Rather, it draws attention, appeals for help, and criticizes if necessary. It always advocates dialogue and tries to preclude a breakdown of the dialogue between different segments of society. The League tries to keep open the channels of communication with all parties, especially the government. The League does not treat anyone, including the government, adversarially. It does not intend to act hostilely toward anyone. Nor does it intend to play the role of opposition, a union, or an association. It believes that each has its role and characteristics in civilian society.

[REALITES] The country is approaching legislative and presidential elections in about one month. Is the League prepared for this important political event?

[Bouderbala] The League concerned itself in the past with elections, especially the premature legislative and presidential elections in 1989. The League believes that its activists in the outlying areas are tantamount to observers. They perform their regular role of informing the board of directors of any violation that occurs on any day, especially during election days.

The board of directors will deal with this subject, and, as usual, it will have its say and adopt positions after studying them.

INDIA

Further Reportage, Comment on Relations With U.S.**Visiting Senators' Remarks**

[All quotation marks as published]

94AS0256A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 11 Mar 94 p 1

[Text] Washington, March 10 (PTI [Press Trust of India] & UNI [United News of India]): Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has warned that any move by the Clinton administration to modify the Pressler amendment to renew aid to Pakistan would "force India to reassess its defence policy."

This was conveyed by the Indian Prime Minister to US Senators, according to a report to the Senate by Republican Senators Tad Cochran, Larry Pressler and Hank Brown, who visited India recently and met Mr. Rao.

Rao and several other Indian leaders the Senators met deplored the harm done to Indo-American relations by the statements of Assistant Secretary of State, Ms. Robin Raphel, on Kashmir, questioning the State's permanent accession to India.

When the US Charge D'Affaires, Mr. Kenneth Brill, tried to find an excuse for her by saying that Raphel's statement was casual and "off the record" (which was not true, her briefing to correspondents from South Asia was on "background", i.e., attributable to a senior administration official), Rao reported: "The statement was nevertheless appalling. Wherever it came from and whatever the motivation, it hurts."

Though the Senators visited India in December last year, Mr. Rao's statement on Pressler amendment acquires significance in the wake of reports of Clinton administration's proposal to seek a one-time waiver to the amendment to allow Pakistan acquire the deadly F-16S.

The Senators quoted Rao as saying: "The Prime Minister moved immediately to the Indo-Pakistan relationship, especially the Kashmir situation and the destabilising impact of any change in the Pressler amendment's restrictions on US aid to Pakistan because of its nuclear programme."

It was in this context he said that any move to change Pressler and resume aid to Pakistan "would force India to reassess its defence policy."

Rao told the Senators that statements on Kashmir by officials like Robin Raphel would not improve Indo-US relations.

When Senator Brown said that India's economic reforms were significant but relatively unknown in the US and that a visit by the Prime Minister would be well-received especially by the US financial community, Rao said his

Ambassador in Washington (Siddhartha Shankar Ray) had also been urging him to visit the US.

The F-16 aircraft had been on order with Lockheed Corporation, but deliveries had been barred under Pressler amendment restrictions, although Islamabad had paid an advance of 658 million dollars. The stymied aircraft deal has been a sore point in Pak-US relations and Islamabad has left no stone unturned in its lobbying efforts with the administration and members of Congress to clear the deal.

Mr. Frank Wisner, Under Secretary for Defense, informed Senator Pressler of the administration's intention to consider a one-time lifting of the Pressler amendment in order to accommodate the aircraft deal. Senator Pressler told reporters that he was concerned at the move, which was likely to be made at the House-Senate Conference committee on the State Department's Appropriations Bill, since a one-time exception would practically amount to repealing the amendment.

"It is the only piece of non-proliferation legislation on the books, and I think we should be building on it," the Senator said. "Bringing F-16's into the region would trigger another arms race," he added.

As soon as he was informed about the move, Sen. Pressler wrote to President Bill Clinton yesterday, seeking "five minutes at your earliest convenience to discuss nuclear non-proliferation policy." To stress the urgency of the situation, the Senator offered to meet "in your office, or during a morning run."

The letter makes clear Sen. Pressler's deep concerns over the issue: "Should such a meeting prove impossible to schedule, I will raise this issue the next time I am at the White House, or if you should visit the Senate."

While I would rather not raise this issue in such a public setting, I think it is critical for the administration, to send a consistent signal about the importance of nuclear non-proliferation.

"Copies of the letter to the President have been sent to Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Defence Secretary William Perry, which suggests, that Sen. Pressler intends to take up the issue with the two officials.

Sen. Pressler pointed out that the Clinton administration last November had proposed draft foreign aid legislation that would leave out country-specific language, in effect putting an end to the Pakistan-specific Pressler amendment.

But in the face of determined opposition from Sen. Pressler, Senator John Glenn of Ohio and others, the administration beat a hasty retreat, claiming that even if the Pressler amendment had been repealed, aid to Pakistan would not have been provided as long as Pakistan retained its nuclear weapons capability.

"I want the people to know what is being proposed," Sen. Pressler said. What the defence department was proposing was inconsistent with the position of the State department. He called on all concerned citizens to write to their legislators to take up the matter with members of the House-Senate Conference Committee.

Sen. Pressler said he believed that part of the reason for the new move was, pressure on the Defence Department by Lockheed Corporation.

Proposal on Arms for Pakistan

94AS0256B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 15 Mar 94 p 16

[Editorial: "Arms for Pakistan"]

[Text] The Clinton administration's proposal to resume the supply of arms to Pakistan threatens not just the military balance in the south Asian region, but also India's move towards economic liberalisation and reform. While the reports on the U.S. government's thinking on providing a "one-time" waiver to the Pressler amendment, which bars military sales to Islamabad, have focussed on the nuclear-capable F-16 aircraft, the effect of the exemption will have a wider and more drastic impact. This is because, in addition to the 71 F-16s already paid for, there are three Harpoon-armed P3C Orion maritime surveillance aircraft, along with a variety of electronic warfare equipment, that could also become eligible for shipment. Adding 71 fourth-generation fighters like the F-16s to the 37 that Islamabad already has will tilt the balance of air power against India since it has at present only some 45 aircraft of equivalent capability in the form of Mirage 2000s.

Perhaps the most questionable aspect of the Clinton administration's proposal is that, notwithstanding the failure that necessitated the 1990 application of the Pressler amendment in the first place, it is once again being projected as a means of curbing Pakistan's nuclear ambitions. The F-16s are capable of delivering nuclear weapons; in effect what the U.S. is proposing to do is to provide Islamabad with 71 aircraft equipped with a variety of electronic means to penetrate the adversaries' air space and deliver nuclear weapons on target with great accuracy. This makes a mockery of Washington's claim that it is seeking to freeze and "roll back" nuclear weapons' programmes in the region, and indeed the world. It also scoffs at the U.S. law which in 1990 barred arms sales to Pakistan when the White House found itself unable to certify that Islamabad did not possess a nuclear explosive device. Another factor which merits consideration is that the American move will seriously jeopardise the economic reform process in India. In the early 1980s when it had to counterbalance the U.S. arms package to Pakistan, India exercised the option of acquiring high-quality equipment at threshold prices from the erstwhile Soviet Union. Though the purchase was made in favourable deferred rupee terms, it took India's defence expenditures to new highs, peaking at

some four per cent of the GDP in 1986-87. Following the dissolution of its ally, India has faced great difficulty in maintaining the equipment, but it could take a relatively relaxed stance knowing that, with the Pressler amendment in force, Pakistan, too, was similarly handicapped. As a result, defence expenditures declined, and from 1990 onwards have been dipping below the figure of three per cent of the GDP. This helped India to implement its programme of economic restructuring and liberalisation, which is beginning to show results. Earlier this year, the finance minister was able to announce that the country would repay its IMF loan ahead of schedule. Recently the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, noted that the new American arms package to Pakistan could cause India to re-think its defence policy. If India is forced on this path, not only will it not be able to repay the IMF loan, but perhaps be compelled to incur more debts.

Dinesh Singh in Lok Sabha

94AS0256C Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
1 Mar 94 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 27.—An unscheduled debate on important Foreign Affairs took place in the Lok Sabha today. During question hour the Opposition expressed its strong reaction to the recent "anti-Indian" statements made by Washington.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, said that India has told USA that the views expressed by President Clinton and other officials on Jammu and Kashmir will affect relations between the two countries.

However, he added that the Indian representative there had already replied to the anti-India views, so there was no need for him or the Prime Minister to take up the matter with the U.S. President or the Secretary of State.

Mr. Dinesh Singh's defence of the Government's low-key reaction to the statements of President Bill Clinton and the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs on Kashmir and Punjab was resented strongly by a section of the Opposition. Mr. Singh justified the Government stance saying that the U.S. Administration had "corrected" its earlier stance stating "that these views do not constitute and should not be construed to imply any change in the U.S. policy". He said that India, thus, should accept it.

The Minister said the unanimous resolution on Kashmir passed by Parliament last week and the statements of the Indian Ambassador to the USA and the Government spokesmen had an impact the world over.

Earlier, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, while answering supplementaries said that India was doing everything to tell the world that the present situation in Jammu and Kashmir was the result of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in the state. However, he said, Kashmir was a bilateral issue between India and

Pakistan, which should be resolved within the framework of the Shimla Agreement. No other country would be allowed to mediate on the issue, he said.

The Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, told the Rajya Sabha that the Government was committed to greater transparency in its handling of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir and had initiated strenuous efforts to reactivate political activity, adds PTI [Press Trust of India].

Moving a statutory resolution seeking further extension of President's rule in the State for a period of six months from March 3 in the House, Mr. Chavan quoting the Governor's report said there had been a visible improvement in the situation.

He said that as a part of greater transparency the Government had allowed a delegation of the International Commission of jurists and three ambassadors from the European Commission to visit Kashmir.

Meanwhile, 20 people including 10 militants, two of them self-styled commanders, and three women were killed while 14 others including an area commander were arrested in the Kashmir valley overnight.

'Acrimonious Exchange Ahead'

94AS0256D Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 Mar 94 [page not given]

[Article by Abhay Vaidya: "India, U.S. Heading for Conflict"]

[Text] Washington, March 12. New Delhi and Washington appear to be heading for yet another round of acrimonious exchange with the Clinton administration's reported move to deliver 71 F-16 fighter planes to Pakistan.

It is as yet unclear whether the administration is considering an unconditional delivery of the planes or whether it plans to obtain specific, nuclear non-proliferation-related assurances from Islamabad prior to any delivery.

The possibility of a qualitative shift in the weapons balance in South Asia came into sharp focus when the South Dakota Republican Senator, Mr. Larry Pressler, disclosed that the US defence department was keen on completing the sale deed of the combat aircrafts to Pakistan.

Further corroboration of the F-16 transfer was provided on the very next day by Ms. Robin Raphel, the assistant secretary of state for South Asia.

During a testimony to the house foreign affairs sub-committee on Asia and the Pacific, Ms. Raphel said that the aircrafts in question had already been sold to Pakistan; it was now just a matter of delivery.

She said that certain aspects of amendment which applied to the transfer of the fighter planes, could still be used as a "leverage" to persuade Pakistan to cap its nuclear programme.

This unfolding episode forcefully reinforces yet again, the perception of an unabated deterioration in Indo-US relations.

This was reflected in a March 9 New Delhi-dated lined dispatch in THE NEW YORK TIMES. The report, "US Remarks Over Kashmir Anger Indians" said that for now, the Indian government's unhappiness with the Clinton administration "seem minimal, although the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has shelved plans to visit Washington soon."

Speaking to THE TIMES OF INDIA, Dr. Sumit Ganguly, a researcher at the Woodrow Wilson Centre observed that the Indo-US relations under the Clinton administration had suffered enormously "because of a number of careless, thoughtless, and tactless statements" and gestures by administration officials.

These included some routine letters from the White House over which there was no supervision and "a couple of singularly tactless statements" by Ms. Raphel.

In contrast to popular perception in India, Washington was not obsessed with Kashmir, Dr. Ganguly noted, pointing out that the secretary of state, Mr. Warren Christopher, did not even mention Kashmir in any of his prepared testimonies.

The administration was concerned about nuclear non-proliferation, but without devoting the same intensity of attention to India-Pakistan, as to Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

Fourteen months into the Clinton regime, the damage to Indo-US relations appears unabated with the White House continuing to issue auto-signed letters to reply to anti-Indian Congressmen who repeatedly refer to the Indian state of Punjab, as "Punjab, Khalistan."

American scholars and administration officials, however, have termed the Indian protests as an "over-reaction" to minor issues and gestures by politicians towards their constituents.

Some analysts, however, point to the Clinton administration's bankruptcy on foreign policy issues, with recent US diplomatic conflicts even with such allies as Japan, France and Britain.

By the same token, these analysts say that if India wants to be taken seriously by the US in its foreign policy considerations, tangible actions showing displeasure with the US would have to be seriously considered.

"The US will not take India's position on Kashmir seriously unless New Delhi demonstrates that it means business and that it is prepared to put an end to international terrorism by undertaking a hot pursuit of

terrorists directly into Pakistan," a Washington-based Indian-American analyst said.

He added that such a legitimate move aimed at eliminating terrorist training camps in Pakistan "would ring the right bells at the situation room in the White House."

The Clinton administration's latest act of insensitivity towards India, is the administration's reported attempt to proceed with the sale of F-16 combat aircrafts to Pakistan. It is not difficult to visualise the enormous damage that such a decision would do, if carried through without meaningful and verifiable nuclear-related assurances from Islamabad.

Mr. Selig Harrison, a foreign policy expert at the Carnegie Endowment was aghast when informed of the F-16 delivery proposal. The US policy of delivery arms to Pakistan seemed to resemble the motions of a revolving door, he said, with successive administrations, appeasing Islamabad with military aid, only to withdraw it later.

The decision to deliver F-16s to Pakistan "couldn't have come at a worst time in Indo-US relations," said Mr. Harrison in an interview with THE TIMES OF INDIA.

He pointed out that the rhetorical exchange between New Delhi and Washington had "already given the impression of a US tilt towards Pakistan."

Mr. Michael Krepon, another analyst at the Henry L. Stimson Centre said it was probable that the US would demand specific nuclear-related steps from Pakistan before delivering the F-16s.

"My reading is that there is some sentiment to waive Pressler but only if Pakistan takes verifiable and concrete steps that are in support of US non-proliferation policies," Mr. Krepon told THE TIMES OF INDIA.

"This administration came in on a platform that focussed far more upon American domestic revival further than any grand promises of dramatic changes in foreign policy," Dr. Ganguly said.

"Foreign policy has not been the principle concern of this administration when it came and it has not been since the past year in office."

The priorities were unlikely to change significantly, Dr. Ganguly said, as President Clinton remained focussed on the domestic economy and other national issues such as health care reforms, job retraining and social welfare.

Trade Act Decision 'Unwarranted'

94AS0256E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Mar 94 p 16

[Editorial: "Bullying Tactics"]

[Text] The unwarranted decision of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to reactivate the Super 301 provision of

the American Omnibus Trade Act can at best be attributed to his political problems at home, and at worst to the U.S.'s total disregard for a multilateral trade regime. Facing declining popularity at home and the whiff of scandal, Mr. Clinton might have decided to demonstrate his machismo and secure an improvement in his popularity ratings by talking tough with the Japanese. It is equally possible that, with barely a month left for the ministerial meeting of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations at Marrakesh in Morocco, the U.S. has deliberately decided to cock a snook at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT] by reactivating a provision Act that symbolises the arrogant unilateralism of the world's richest nation. The revival of Super 301, an instrument that the U.S. government claims will be used to pry open inaccessible markets, makes a mockery of all that has been painstakingly achieved by trade negotiators at the Uruguay Round. The decision has ostensibly been provoked by the Japanese refusal to play ball. It is true that Tokyo has not demonstrated its full commitment to the principles of free trade and multilateralism that it preaches to others, particularly to developing countries like India. It is also true that the U.S. political leadership has been unable to keep pace with the deft diplomatic footwork of the Japanese.

Pique, however, cannot be the basis of policy. If Washington is aggrieved that the Japanese have resorted to unfair trade practices, then the matter should be referred to GATT's dispute settlement mechanism. Developing countries, worried about their own trade prospects, are bound to ask whether the Uruguay Round was not a waste of time if the U.S. can continue to act unilaterally with impunity. While the present U.S. move is aimed against the Japanese, India, which has in the past faced the threat of action based on both Super 301 and Special 301, may have to worry about a similar response in its case. The U.S. pressure on India to liberalise the import of consumer goods is patently unjustified since the Indian government has clearly stated that it has a medium-term agenda of trade liberalisation which has to take into account the interests of domestic industry in the transition period. The Indian government has demonstrated its commitment to trade liberalisation once again in the Union budget for 1994-95. However, the pace of liberalisation cannot be increased under external pressure. Indeed, such pressure can only be counter-productive in a democracy where governments are sensitive to opposition criticism, as Mr. Clinton should know. The U.S. government must appreciate the fact that, despite its refusal to comply with the multilateral rules of the game in areas such as textiles trade, where the U.S. has bullied the world into a slower phasing out of the Multifibre Agreement, it is the developing countries which have shown a greater commitment to multilateralism despite their unenviable economic conditions and prospects.

Chavan in Lok Sabha

94AS0256F Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 3 Mar 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 2 (UNI [United News of India]): The Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, on

Wednesday accused the United States of meddling in Kashmir and went to the extent of questioning the locus standi of President Bill Clinton and his administration challenging the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India.

In a hard-hitting reply in the Lok Sabha to the debate on the resolution extending the President's rule in Jammu and Kashmir by another six months from Thursday, he said the United States had a vested interest in the matter.

The House later unanimously adopted the resolution, which has already been approved by the Rajya Sabha.

In the first-ever strong criticism of the current US position on Kashmir by a senior government representative, Mr. Chavan said the United States was "neither interested in helping Pakistan or India, but helping themselves."

"We have to be on guard," said Mr. Chavan, wondering "what really are their (US) intentions." The Home Minister said the United States had raked up the issue of human rights in Kashmir as a sort of balancing act.

He said Washington was thinking in terms of declaring Pakistan as a State sponsoring terrorism in Kashmir. But just to maintain a balance between that country and India, it played up the issue of human rights in Kashmir.

Mr. Chavan said both United States and Pakistan had no "right or credibility" to talk of human rights and went on to recall how human rights were crushed by the former when its supreme national interests were involved.

As for Pakistan, it was "ridiculous" for it to talk of human rights, he said amid cheers and mentioned how human rights were trampled upon in the provinces of Baluchistan, Sind and elsewhere in that country.

Mr. Chavan said he could not believe that Mr. Clinton had not been properly briefed on Kashmir. Again, he said, the statements of administration official Robin Raphel questioning the Kashmir accession to India were rather consistent.

On the other hand, three republican Senators and former US Ambassador to New Delhi Patrick Moynihan, who had met him recently, had categorically stated that what Ms. Raphel was saying was not the right line. He even quoted the US Charge D'affairs in New Delhi as having taken this position in one of these meetings.

Mr. Chavan claimed that the United Kingdom also did not agree with the US line and based his claim on what was told to him by an unnamed UK Minister.

The Home Minister said there was a qualitative improvement in Kashmir especially after the peaceful resolution of the Hazratbal standoff. Pakistan was no longer getting the sort of the peoples sympathy it used to earlier, he said.

Mr. Chavan said it was a "delicate national issue," and appealed to all sections and political parties to exercise restraint in their utterances on the topic.

Mr. Chavan said the government had an open mind in discussing Kashmir. "We have to take everybody along" in finding a solution.

He said it was wrong to describe the perpetrators of violence in Kashmir as "militants." They are "terrorists, nothing less," he added.

Mr. Chavan regretted the references during the debate to the so-called differences between Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel over the approach to Kashmir issue. They were tall and great leaders and worked together to create and build an independent India. There was absolutely nothing surprising if they had differences of perception, if at all, on certain issues, he said.

'Lamentable Gulf'

94AS0256G Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 3 Mar 94 p 12

[Editorial: "Mr. Chavan Talks Tough"]

[Text] Mr. S.B. Chavan's broadside against the United States in the Lok Sabha, which paid little heed to diplomatic niceties, marks a new assertiveness in India's Kashmir policy. But it also points to the lamentable gulf that seems to separate India from America these days. By charging the U.S. with seeking gains for itself in Kashmir, the home minister seems to have virtually accused it of harbouring covetous designs on Indian territory. Even otherwise, the tone of his utterances and the fact that they follow the parliamentary resolution, reaffirming India's determination to maintain its sovereignty over the state, ought to send an unequivocal message to whoever has been taking an interest in the matter. The opposition, of course, cannot be faulted for criticising the government's handling of the state's affairs, given the prevailing lawlessness there and a feeling that other countries were being too casual about India's concerns. Indeed, given the peculiar circumstances in Kashmir at present, Parliament is, in a sense, its custodian. Fortunately, after a shaky beginning, the official policy seems to have been fleshed out with the governor, Gen. K.V. Krishna Rao, in command in Srinagar and the home minister spelling out the government's position with uncommon vigour in New Delhi. In advance of the outcome of the UNHRC [United Nations Human Rights Commission] in Geneva, the combative home minister has also given short shrift to charges of human rights violations by India in Kashmir. There is little doubt, therefore, that the situation is far clearer than it used to be not long ago.

While the home minister's remarks were not always taken all that seriously in the past, his latest observations on the U.S. and Pakistan undoubtedly represent a new and carefully-structured position of the government. The latter apparently wants to make it quite clear, in the light

of various suggestions emanating from Washington, that New Delhi will take serious exception to measures that seek to question India's sovereign rights over Kashmir. Perhaps the forthcoming visit of the top American official dealing with South Asia, Ms. Robin Raphel, lent an edge to Mr. Chavan's comments. Unlike some people, Mr. Chavan has not shied away from charging that Ms. Raphel's statement, questioning the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, had the sanction of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton. The Indian officials dealing with the U.S., who have been trying to keep the relations between the two countries on an even keel despite the severe buffeting they have received, may detect a positive element in Mr. Chavan's observation that India must "find out what exactly are the intentions of the U.S. government". But, as home minister, Mr. Chavan has also to deal with the seamier side of international politics, namely, espionage, cross-border sabotage and proxy wars. So it is not surprising, especially in the context of Kashmir, that his remarks were sharp, without any mitigating element one normally expects in any reference to a country with which there is no direct confrontation.

Robin Raphel's Statements Termed 'Unbecoming'

94AS0255R Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 12 Mar 94 p 8

[Editorial: "A Bold Stand Against US"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] Is Robin Raphel a resident of India? Or, is she a spokesperson for Pakistani terrorists? One cannot but help entertain such doubts going by the authoritative, often contradictory, statements issued by her. It is totally unbecoming of a representative of the world's most powerful country to ape Jack Nicholson, the Joker. Ms. Raphel, by her intemperate and totally immature utterances is playing havoc with the destinies of millions of citizens in the subcontinent. Ms. Raphel feels that a "lot of human rights abuses are still occurring in Kashmir both on the part of the militants and the security forces. While recent steps by the Government of India had increased accountability, the improvement has yet to be reflected on the ground". Her concern for human rights is most touching. We too feel concerned at the impunity with which human rights violations take place in the so-called land of global democrats, the United States of America. Ms. Raphel's obsession with matters Asian seem to preclude her understanding of naked home truths. The Human Rights Watch, an American human rights organisation, rapped in its report recently the United States for 'non-compliance' with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The report, a joint undertaking of the major US Constitutional Rights Organisation and the largest US-based international human rights group, regularly quoted by the state department when it criticises other countries, was prompted by the ratification of the ICCPR by the US in 1992, 25 years after its adoption by the United Nations. The Human Rights Watch executive director, Mr. Kenneth Roth, had this to say: "The US government regularly

condemns human rights abuses in other countries, but has done little to apply international human rights law in the country. We issue this report in the hope of breaking the cynical view of international human rights law as a source of protection only for those outside the US borders. This report demonstrates that violations are happening on the US soil as well".

The report identified nine substantive areas in which the US 'falls short of international standards'. For the benign education of Ms. Raphel, some of the sticking points of the report are: the US routinely violates Article 10 of the ICCPR which requires that all prisoners and detainees be treated with humanity and respect to the inherent dignity of the human person; Article 10 is also violated by many of the techniques and punishments of 'super-maximum security' facilities where for example, prisoners may pass years without breathing outside air or may be forced to eat their meals like a dog, with hands tied behind their backs; the anti-discrimination requirement of Article 26 is violated by the unequal treatment of women prisoners, who receive fewer recreational, vocational and educational opportunities than their male counterparts; although US legal protection against race discrimination is generally adequate by ICCPR standards, in practice legal safeguards go largely ignored. Educational segregation and unequal conditions of schooling persist. Public and private housing are rife with segregation and discrimination. The report says that it finds "significant shortcomings in the US record, from the summary repatriation of Haitian Boat People (refugees fleeing to the US from Haiti in leaking boats) to the brutal treatment of prisoners in the US". So much for Ms. Raphel's concern for human rights! If the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia has been making a spectacle of herself, the contribution to such humour has been quite significant from India's leadership. We have been defensive all through. Any Tom, Dick and Harry can level accusations against India and get away with it. All that we seem to do is defend, defend and defend. The inability of the foreign policy makers to come out of cocooned non-alignment thinking, and their inability to define India's self-interest clearly has led even terrorist exporting countries like Pakistan and habitual offenders of human rights like Iran to mouthings on human rights. Recognition of this fact, belated though, has come in the form of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's bold statement to recast India's defence policy if Pressler Amendment is dropped against Pakistan. Only the naive and ignorant will be fooled by the US stand that a one-time waiver of Pressler Amendment is not harmful. For the United States, the bottomline of Lockheed Corporation manufacturing the dreaded F-16s is more important than the welfare of India, Pakistan or its one billion humans. That is the truth, fair and simple.

Analyst Reports Rao Meeting With Moynihan

94AS0229D Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Feb 94
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 14—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today urged friends of Pakistan—an

obvious reference to the United States, among others—to persuade Islamabad to be responsive to India's approach for normalising and building up bilateral relations. The Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, had heightened the anti-India rhetoric to unprecedented levels on Kashmir which, naturally, aim in the way of dialogue he said.

Mr. Rao underscored the futility of this course, for eventually she would have to come to the negotiation table. Her own father had signed the Shimla agreement and someone had to tell her, according to Mr. Rao, to adhere to it.

The Prime Minister made these points in a conversation with the visiting U.S. Senator, Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan who said he would convey these views to his President, Mr. Bill Clinton. Mr. Moynihan gave a similar assurance when Mr. Rao stressed the urgency of all out efforts to end the Bosnia crisis which was fuelling the fires of Muslim fundamentalism all over the world.

The current state of Indo-Pakistan—and also Indo-U.S.—relations figured at length at the meeting the Prime Minister had with Mr. Moynihan who is the chairman of the U.S. Senate Panel on South Asia and a former Ambassador to India.

Framework Exists

Mr. Moynihan, who sought the Prime Minister's views on Indo-Pakistan ties, was told that a framework of dialogue between the two countries already existed in the form of the Shimla Agreement. India, according to Mr. Rao, had offered to continue talks for good-neighbourly relations but Pakistan's actions in continuing its support to terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and its world-wide anti-India propaganda were major barriers. According to Mr. Moynihan, the United States continued to favour the Shimla Agreement framework for Indo-Pakistan talks.

The present rhetoric was not going to help Pakistan, said Mr. Rao. Unless Islamabad jettisoned the Shimla framework there was no justification for its leaders to go from place to place. "I am a serious-minded person. I do not want to indulge in rhetoric. It would be waste of time and energy and would encourage tension," Mr. Rao said.

'Strange'

It was strange, according to the Prime Minister, that India should be blamed for human rights violation when it had an independent judiciary, free press, and democratic system—and now a human rights commission to probe cases of excesses. Mr. Moynihan remarked: "You have my sympathies and respect."

Regarding Indo-U.S. relations, they discussed both the positive and the negative aspects in the bilateral field. Mr. Moynihan was happy at the growth of economic ties, as evidenced by the level of U.S. investments in India last year, which was higher than that of the previous 40

years. He expressed satisfaction at the progress of the economic liberalisation programme in India.

'We don't have bomb'

As the discussion turned to nuclear non-proliferation, Mr. Rao assured Mr. Moynihan that India did not have a bomb and therefore there was no question of dismantling it. If they (Pakistan) have it they should dismantle it, he said.

Mr. Rao's reference to "friends of Pakistan" was obviously intended to be a hint to the United States to try to restrain Pakistan from pursuing its no-holds-barred anti-India campaign. In the immediate context, it could mean persuading Pakistan to continue the dialogue begun last month at the level of Foreign Secretaries on the basis of the six Indian proposals, regarded as positive by Washington, instead of using the international for anti-India tirades.

As a matter of fact, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shahryar Khan, was now in Washington—obviously to seek U.S. support to his Government's move to use the U.N. Human Rights Commission for an anti-India campaign. This could be an appropriate occasion for the United States, if it so wanted, to counsel Pakistan against recklessness.

Mr. Moynihan's visit here comes in the wake of the Senate panel's hearings where the Clinton Administration's policy on South Asia and the style of the Assistant Secretary of State, Ms. Robin Raphel—the cause of extreme disquiet here—were sharply criticised. Mr. Moynihan strongly defended India on the human rights issue, saying that its Constitution provided firm guarantees of individual freedom and its record since 1947 "as impeccable. This was followed by a warning about the futility of mechanical application of the standards of civil liberties to situations of ethnic conflicts.

Papers Report Rao Activities in London

Talks With Major

94AS0261A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 15 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by S. Viswam: "PM: It's for Pak to Respond"]

[Text] London, March 14: The Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, on Monday assured his British counterpart, Mr. John Major, that the groundwork for the resumption of the political process in Jammu and Kashmir had already been taken in hand.

In the context of the need for restoration of normality in Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Rao also conveyed to Mr. Major India's readiness to enter into a dialogue with Pakistan, emphasising at the same time that the responsibility for responding to Indian initiatives in this respect

lay solely with Pakistan. The Prime Minister's assurances came in response to a specific enquiry from Mr. Major as to the current steps towards resumption of the political process in Kashmir as well as of an Indo-Pakistan dialogue.

During an exchange of views at a summit meeting between the two Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street, both Punjab and Kashmir figured in the discussions which were described as frank and cordial. After the meeting, while Mr. Major said that the two of them had a "good meeting," Mr. Rao smiled and nodded acknowledgement as if to say that he concurred with Mr. Major's assessment of the outcome.

Mr. Rao told the British Prime Minister that while the Indian interest in holding elections in Kashmir was both keen and earnest, he was sceptical about the success of Indian efforts so long as the "fear of the gun," namely instigation from across the borders persisted. However, he reminded Mr. Major that the Indian efforts in Punjab had succeeded and that the State was now peaceful and democracy functioned there effectively. The Prime Minister also secured a positive response from Mr. Major to his suggestion that Britain consider enhancing significantly its size of investments in India.

Mr. Rao stressed that there was need for the international community to resolve issues like Bosnia where forces of extremism were being invoked, with consequential repercussions around the world.

The exchange of views at the delegation-level lasted about half-an-hour after which the two Prime Ministers went into a one-to-one session without aides. According to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. Srinivasan, the outcome of the talks was on the positive and constructive side.

Specifically in respect of India's initiatives to bring Pakistan to the negotiating table, Mr. Rao pointed out that India had recently offered to Pakistan six proposals for initiating a dialogue. He emphasised that India was persistently trying for a constructive dialogue with Pakistan. This argument was cited by Mr. Rao while responding to Mr. Major's query as to whether it was possible to set in place some confidence building measures with Pakistan. The implication of Mr. Rao's response was that such confidence building measures had already been thought upon by India, and the ball was now in Islamabad's court.

The two Prime Ministers expressed appreciation of the success of Indo-British partnership initiatives which had been agreed upon by the private sector of the two countries.

The continuation of the partnership was endorsed by the two Prime Ministers both of whom were appreciative of the fact that the "wicket is full of runs." Responding with a similar cricket allusion, his British counterpart said that IBPI [Indo-British Partnership Initiative] had had a good innings and that they were still at the crease. [sentence as published]

Britain is opposed to the "internationalisation" of the Kashmir issue and strongly supports India's stand that the problem should be resolved through bilateral talks between New Delhi and Islamabad under the Shimla agreement.

Referring to the controversial resolution on Kashmir moved and later withdrawn by Pakistan at the recent United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) meeting in Geneva, the sources said the spokesman of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office had clearly stated that Britain did not believe that such resolutions were helpful in finding a solution.

On human rights in Kashmir, the sources said there had been a willingness on the part of the British government to recognise that there had been "much exaggeration" in reports criticising India on the issue. The British leadership agreed with India's view that "many abuses in Kashmir are committed by militants" and that New Delhi had a democratic tradition, independent judiciary, free press and a number of local and national human rights organisations, which zealously worked for the protection of human rights.

Guild Hall Speech Reported

94AS0261B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 15 Mar 94 pp 1, 17

[Article by L.K. Sharma: "Pack on Unilateral Investments: Rao for Global Pressure on Pakistan"]

[Excerpts] London, March 14. India's growing impatience with Pakistan's role in Kashmir and its tactics at international forums was reflected here in the statements of the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao. He reiterated his government's determination to achieve normalisation in that state through a democratic, political and consensual approach.

(Britain today announced a £ten million assistance for the World Bank rehabilitation projects in the quake hit areas of Maharashtra, report UNI [United News of India] and PTI [Press Trust of India].

This would be in addition to the £three million assistance already given by Britain for the purpose.

The British overseas development minister, Baroness Lynda Chalker, conveyed this decision when she called on Mr. Narasimha Rao here this morning.

Expressing appreciation for British development assistance to India, the Prime Minister reiterated New Delhi's commitment to economic reforms.

He said his government would pay special attention to the weaker sections of the society while initiating development programmes.

Mr. Rao said India would welcome assistance in the infrastructural sector particularly in the field of energy.

New Delhi is the largest recipient of British overseas assistance for 1993-94. The UK had pledged £239 million to India during the period.

Later in his meeting with the secretary of defence, Mr. Malcolm Rifkind, Mr. Rao stressed the need for greater technology transfer as also co-production, sub contract and joint marketing in the defence sector.

The leaders in their 30-minute meeting discussed ways and means to increase defence cooperation between India and Britain.

Earlier in the morning Mr. Rao had a breakfast meeting with the Mayor of London. [passage omitted]

Mr. Rao's message to his host government as well as to the Indian community was more or less the same. He highlighted Pakistan's role in helping terrorists and described Kashmir as "another victim of a proxy war directed against India."

Addressing the community at Guild Hall, Mr. Rao said terrorism in Kashmir sought to destroy India's sense of nationhood, secularism and democracy. Misguided youths indoctrinated, and equipped with instruments of violence from outside were engaged in mindless violence. It was not a religious problem and if the external factor was removed from Jammu and Kashmir, the state could return to normalcy, hold elections and revive economic activity.

"The world must recognise that it is this external factor of Pakistan's instigation which keeps alive terrorist activity in Kashmir. The only intervention that is needed is pressure on that external factor to cease such support and enter into serious discussions with us on a peaceful and durable understanding. We have shown ourselves to be open to such a dialogue in spite of the provocative and unreasonable attitude of our neighbours, and will continue to remain so.

He reminded the world of the amusing irony that a country on the verge of being declared a terrorist state should be able to loftily proclaim that they could not have discussions with us until our human rights record improved. It was because of a massive disinformation campaign that India, a victim of terrorism organised and financed from across the border, should sometimes find itself subjected to unwarranted criticism. It also found that the world was worried about the human rights of terrorists, who massacred innocent people or used religious places for political ends, but not of those who were being forced out of their homes, attacked and terrorised.

Mr. Rao recalled that Punjab, after a decade-long nightmare of terrorist violence, had been turned into a peaceful state. The transformation was made possible by the patriotism of the people of Punjab and their faith in democracy. "Their fortitude and determination in the face of terrorism would be a remarkable chapter in India's post independence history," he added.

Mr. Rao said India remained fully committed to secularism while fully respecting all religions. Over the centuries, minorities in India had enriched the mosaic of India's multicultural heritage, he said.

India's economic reforms was another subject on which Mr. Rao addressed the Non-Resident Indians [NRI]. Mr. Rao said the economic situation had improved tremendously. Foreign investments had grown and there was a further role for NRIs who would find investments in India very attractive.

India had taken several measures to remove difficulties of businessmen and the state governments were competing with each other for NRI investments. The NRI community was the second largest investor in India in 1993, going by approval figures, Mr. Rao said. The NRI community in Britain also had a role in shaping the Indo-British relationship which had reached a very exciting phase, he said.

Pact on Investments

94AS0261C Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 15 Mar 94 p 1

[Text] London, March 14 (UNI [United News of India]): India and Britain on Monday added a new dimension to their economic relations by signing an agreement on promotion and protection of investments from each other's country.

The agreement was signed by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, and the Indian High Commissioner to Britain, Mr. L.M. Singhvi at 10, Downing Street, in the presence of the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and his British counterpart, Mr. John Major.

Britain is the first country with which India has signed such an agreement, aimed at creating conditions conducive for investments in each other's country and designed to increase investor confidence. Protection of a wide range of investments, including moveable and immoveable property, mortgages, liens, pledges, shares and stocks and intellectual property rights is covered by the agreement.

An official spokesman for the Indian delegation said the central idea behind the agreement was that each of the contracting parties would ensure fair and equitable treatment as well as full protection and security to investments from the other country.

He said that initially, the agreement would remain in force for a period of 10 years. Thereafter, it could be terminated if either contracting party gave notice of termination to the other.

If such a step is taken, it would be on a non-discriminatory basis and would entail fair and equitable compensation to the affected investor.

Article 5 and 6 of the agreement guarantee that investments of investors of either contracting party shall not be nationalised or expropriated except for certain public purposes related to the internal requirements for regulating economic activity.

Moreover, the investor would also have a right to review by a judicial or another independent authority of the contracting party. Investors, whose investments suffer due to war, other armed conflicts, national emergency or civil disturbances are guaranteed of a treatment as regard compensation which would not be less favourable than which the contracting party accords to its own investors or the investors of any third State.

Several dispute resolution mechanisms are dealt with including amicable settlements through direct negotiations between the parties to the dispute, international reconciliation under the conciliation rule of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law, and recourse to be international centre for settlement of the disputes.

Supreme Court Rules on Religion in Campaigns

94AS0255A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 15 Mar 94 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 14 (UNI [United News of India]): The Supreme Court has expressed the view that any party or organisation fighting elections on a plank with proximate effect of eroding the Constitution's secular philosophy would be guilty of following an unconstitutional action.

In their separate judgment while disposing of the appeals filed by various parties in connection with the dismissal of State governments and dissolution of Assemblies last week, Mr. Justice S.C. Agrawal and Mr. Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy said a religious or cultural body did not aim at acquiring State power unlike a political party which is formed to capture or share State power. They might be associations of individuals, but their functional relevance—acquiring State power—could not be ignored.

They said political parties were an integral to the governance of a democratic society. If the Constitution required the State to be secular, the same requirement was attached to political parties. The Constitution did not permit mixing religion and State power which must be kept apart.

They said religion was an impermissible element in the body politic and an imbalance in the constitutional system. If a party espousing a particular religion came to power, that religion tended to become the official religion and all other religions would come to acquire a secondary status or enjoy a less favourable position which would be antithetical to Articles 14 to 16, 25 and other provisions of the Constitution.

The judges said if a party, by word of mouth, print or in other manner created the impression of its being a political and a religious party it would be guilty of unconstitutionality and have no right to function as a political party. The fact that a party might be entitled to go to the people seeking a mandate for a drastic amendment of the Constitution or by its replacement by another was wholly irrelevant in the context.

"We do not know how the Constitution can be amended so as to remove secularism from the basic structure of the Constitution (as defined in the Keshavananda Bharti case)," they said. "Nor do we know how the present Constitution can be replaced by another.... It does not provide for its own demise."

The judges alluded to the provisions of the Representation of People Act (RPA) and said even a single instance of the use of religious symbols or an appeal to the electorate to vote on the basis of religion, race, caste or community was enough to vitiate the election of a candidate. The Act also provided for parties to affirm their faith and allegiance to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy.

Mr. Justice K. Rameswari, in his judgement, observed that the rise of fundamentalism and communalisation of politics was anti-secular and encouraged separatist and divisive forces which became breeding grounds for national disintegration.

He said it was the duty of the court to interpret the Constitution to bring political parties within the purview of constitutional parameters for accountability.

IRAN

Ayatollah Rouhani Calls Conditions Critical

94LA0097A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
18 Feb 94 pp 34-37

[Interview with Mehdi Rouhani, spiritual leader of Shiites in Europe, by Hassan Murtada, in Cologne, Bonn; date not given: "Settling of Scores Between Shiites and Sunnis"—first paragraph AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[Text] After a talk delivered in the British House of Commons, Ayatollah Mehdi Rouhani went to Germany to lecture on religious affairs in his capacity as spiritual head of Shiites in Europe. In Cologne, AL-HAWADITH interviewed him about developments in the Iranian situation, following the events of Zahedan, the attempted assassination of President Rafsanjani, and about his position as a religious personage from Qom. He answered the questions, and expects difficult times for Iran, because of an unprecedented economic crisis that is hitting the poor classes and causing them to take to the streets. The interview with Ayatollah Rouhani continued in Bonn, which is the last stop on his tour. He did not want to go into questions of religious authority,

perhaps because one of his two brothers, Mohammad Rouhani, is a religious scholar in Qom, who has his adherents and students. Through the tape of the interview, which runs more than two hours, a true picture emerges of the many Iranian difficulties.

[Murtada] What precisely happened in the city of Zahedan? Why the eruption? Is there any connection between this security convulsion and the assassination attempt against President Rafsanjani? Is overburdened Iran on the eve of a counterrevolution?

[Rouhani] What occurred in Zahedan was a settling of scores between Sunnis and Shiites. The spark came at a border post with Pakistan, when a Revolution Guard member killed a Sunni clergyman on grounds that he had committed the crime of murder and fled to Rawalpindi. He was allowed no defense and the matter was dubious. The city's Sunnis became agitated; their movement was led by the son of the slain clergyman, Abdollah Shahin-jashr. The regular forces intervened and supported the Shiites, who live in nearby Zabol. Matters developed and took on sectarian dimensions, since the Shiites of Zabol opposed the Sunnis of Zahedan. Revolution Guard units were immediately dispatched to restore order in Zahedan and put down the uprising. Many of their personnel were killed.

Undoubtedly, the inhabitants were in a state of rebellion against the regime, which relies on weapons to impose its control. In the midst of this hubbub, President Rafsanjani was shot at. The attempt was one of a series and was not the first. The shooter was an officer of the Revolution Guard. He was not alone. About 50 suspects have been arrested on suspicion in that operation.

Behind the events at home, Rafsanjani—at Friday prayers in Tehran University—said that the Americans and Israelis wanted to kill him. Security forces were deployed on a vast scale in many cities. Minister of Intelligence and Security, 'Ali Fallahian, personally took charge of the investigations into the assassination attempt against Rafsanjani. Besides Zahedan, there are at least three cities with a majority of Sunnis, whose inhabitants hate the regime. The most important of these cities, in addition to Zahedan, are the capital of the southern Baluchestan region, Hashtbar on the Caspian Sea, and Gonbd-e Kavus, near the border with Turkmenistan. Security forces, Basij (volunteers from among the oppressed), and Revolution Guard elements were deployed to suppress what appeared to be a Sunni intifadah against the Tehran regime.

[Murtada] Are the Sunnis in Iran capable of convulsing the regime, which is controlled by Shiites?

[Rouhani] Government estimates put the number of Iranian Sunnis at 7 million, i.e., 12 percent of the total population of 59 million. Sunnis live in the Baluchestan area, where they are the majority; the plains of Gorgan, on the border with Turkmenistan; and some areas of Gilan on the Caspian Sea, neighboring Azarbaijan. Iranian Kurds are Sunni, as are the Arabs in the oil-rich

Khozestan region. The state's strategy is to prevent the rise of any Sunni to high office in the administration or governmental pyramid, as well as the Armed Forces, Revolution Guard, and state organizations. Sunni areas are generally poor. Their educational and social levels have been low since the Shah's time and have continued that way since Khomeyni. There are feelings of rebellion against the regime and its organizations, especially in light of attempts to force Sunnis to embrace Shiism and the Twelver School.

The Iranian Constitution, whose drafting was supervised by Khomeyni himself, envisions no role for minorities in Iran. It asserts that Iran is a Shiite state, of the Ja'afari school. In 1979, a clause in this Constitution protecting the rights and private affairs of minorities was rejected. It was declared that Islam is the religion of the generality of the nation. It is no coincidence that we see widespread Sunni solidarity with Zahedan.

[Murtada] However, Arab and foreign observers think that the degeneration of the Iranian situation in general, and the Zahedan uprising in particular, can be attributed to difficult living conditions and the collapse of the Iranian rial exchange rate vis-a-vis the dollar.

[Rouhani] Living conditions are extremely difficult. They are the fuse for the explosions and acts of unrest in many cities. The middle classes are ground down by high prices. When President Rafsanjani tried to abolish the government subsidy on certain commodities, in accordance with the instructions from the International Bank, Supreme Leader Ali Khamene'i was opposed. All of this coincides with a population explosion, inflation, and foreign debts, which have reached \$30 billion. The amount spent on armament is unknown, but it is in the neighborhood of 4 billion [dollars] annually. All of these reasons result in semi-daily disturbances, which the regime controls by arms. However, it is unable to deal with the underlying causes.

[Murtada] Has the crisis over Marja'iat [Supreme Source of Emulation] in Iran ended? Can the supreme leader, Khamene'i, become the Supreme Marja'?

[Rouhani] In previous sermons, Ali Khamene'i has stated he is a moqalled [emulator] himself, not a Marja'. The rank of a Marja' requires at least 30 years of practice in teaching and writing books before one becomes the Supreme Marja'. From this perspective, it is impossible for Khamene'i to become the Marja', especially since he does not fulfill these conditions.

[Murtada] Is Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah in Beirut, who is knowledgeable and spiritually influential, entitled to become the Marja'? Would it be incumbent upon him, therefore, to leave the southern suburb, in order to settle in Qom?

[Rouhani] Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah studied under the Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Rouhani, who is my brother. He is considered a supreme Marja' now. He now lives in the holy city of Qom, which was his birthplace.

Fadlallah is not entitled to be a supreme Marja', so long as his teacher is alive, and he is the Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Rouhani.

[Murtada] What developments do you expect on the domestic political scene following the Zahedan incidents?

[Rouhani] Generally, the situation is unstable; disturbances occur each day. Groups rise up against the regime. Killings happen, and citizens are detained. From this perspective, Iran is atop a volcano. I see a civil war coming in two or three years. This is what the West doesn't understand. The socioeconomic situation is difficult. Unemployment is a time bomb, because it affects more than half the labor force. The government cannot do anything with regard to the situation.

In the Shah's days, Iran's oil profits were about \$50 billion each year. The Shah ruled Iran for 37 years and came to power 12 years before Mosadeq, i.e., 1320H in the Iranian solar calendar (1941). Mosadeq fell in 1333H (1953). The Shah continued in power for 25 years after Mosadeq. During his reign, oil profits were in the range of \$50 billion per year. Iran's population was around 35 million. Today, oil profits are \$12 billion a year, while the population is around \$50 million. In addition to this large gap, wealth, capitalists, and experts have fled abroad. Major factories are either destroyed, or their owners have taken their funds to the West. The country went through eight years of war. I should mention that Rafsanjani revealed dreadful numbers after the war. He said that 25,000 cities, towns, and hamlets were destroyed with, at least, one-half million persons killed. Now, their families are a burden on the state. This government does not inspire confidence. It vacillates before problems that remain unsolved.

I am a proponent of the dollar model. In the Shah's time, for example, I did not praise it. Everyone knows that I opposed it. The dollar was equal to six tomans while, today, it is the equivalent of 150 tomans. This is a large disparity in the rate of exchange, and means the state's economic structure is in ruins. In these circumstances, no one trusts the regime that has gotten us into indebtedness to the choking point, with all the debt services and commitments.

[Murtada] But, President Rafsanjani has showered promises to reform the situation on more than one occasion.

[Rouhani] In my view, even if Rafsanjani wanted to do anything, he could not because, first, he doesn't know the mechanisms of the economy, nor does anyone in the government at this difficult and complex stage. Naturally, he can call for assistance from men of expertise and competence in the economic and political arena, but he does not trust them. In general, the regime does not trust Iranians abroad. Usually, they are specialists. Today we have about 100,000 specialists abroad. There are around 3 million exiles. Unfortunately, these capable people are absent from Iran, living in Europe or the United States.

They don't trust the regime enough to return. Those who dared to return were unable to do anything. So they packed their bags and left the country again. They did not feel secure or safe. The regime did not inspire them with confidence. Moreover, the suspicion was mutual, and the upshot was Iran lost its capabilities.

[Murtada] These days, many are talking about the second five-year plan to boost the country's economy.

[Rouhani] Iranian five-year plans are pretty on paper; implementation is another story. The government has been incapable of applying what it plans for the last 15 years. The next month is worse than the last month. The past is prettier than the present. Today, we cannot say that Iran's situation in various fields and areas is better than yesterday. The entire regime is in a critical predicament, and its important men and prominent figures know that better than anyone else.

[Murtada] In that case, how do you explain the arms expenditure. Is it unreal in any way? Why guns before bread and at its expense, as it appears from your reading of the situation?

[Rouhani] The Shah's regime did not respect the citizens' freedom and gave not a fig for them. It feared foreigners, and the present regime is maintaining this shahinshah principle. It attaches no importance either to human rights, or to the United Nations, the so-called international community. The arms expenditures benefit a million armed men who protect the regime. The regular army numbers one-half million; the Pasdaran about 300,000; and the rest, i.e., 200,000, are police, security personnel, and secret police. This million forms the regime's power, and its financial weight pours into their palms. The regime's goal is to satisfy these elements and comply with their needs. There is a wall between the people and the regime. By chance, I asked one of my relatives who lives in Qom to bring me some Iranian bread, which we call "Sangak." It is good bread. I tell you that I cannot eat just one bite of it. It is black and flavorful. No one knows what it is made of. This bitter bread is eaten by 40 million Iranians. They eat it with cheese and milk. This is the life of Iranians today. The people are in mourning today, wandering aimlessly in misery. They are suffering from difficulties that appear impossible to solve.

[Murtada] Do the president and the leader, that is Rafsanjani and Khamene'i, form one team, or does each one play his political game within the power structure? Are differences a natural occurrence, or are conflicts concealed?

[Rouhani] Contrary to what some say regarding disputes and differences between the two men, although their points of view are different, I believe that they coalesce and are in accord. I have learned that in a recent leadership meeting in Tehran, Khamene'i called for alliance with Iraq, because it opposes the Americans and the West in general. In contrast, Rafsanjani called for openness to the West. However, the different viewpoint

does not mean that the two men are quarreling. Each one has his opinion but, in the end, there will be complete and total agreement between them. Disagreement might lie in distribution of roles. Rafsanjani always concentrates in his speeches on the importance of relations with the West in order to safeguard the regime, while Khamene'i sees the opposite. He looks for reasons for the regime to stay in alliance with the weak, with states outside the West's influence. However, the two do agree on the principle of division of power. One is president of the republic; the other is leader of the revolution. The regime is based on the principle of division.

[Murtada] Where do "conciliation" efforts between Washington and Tehran stand? Why hasn't normalization occurred, despite Rafsanjani's desire for normal relations? Why hasn't the West supported his efforts, so long as he is a counter-revolutionary Trotsky? Is it true that Washington considers him a part of the regime that it cannot trust in whole or part?

[Rouhani] The readings and analyses vary in this regard. I am sure that the Americans do not trust the Iranian regime, nor its leading figures. Therefore, they ignore it, although they have not granted it a respite. It seems to me from meetings with Western officials that they are in no hurry to have normal relations with the Iranian regime. They will impose their conditions. The matter is no longer as it was in the past, during the time of the Soviet Union and the dual polarization. They are letting the Iranian regime chase after their heels and not the reverse. Khamene'i's anti-American slogans are mere words for internal consumption. In any event, the record is worn out. No one listens anymore, even those who once believed in its content.

[Murtada] Is there any close relationship between you and the spokesman for the Supreme National Security Council, Hasan Rouhani?

[Rouhani] There is no close relationship. Hasan Rouhani is from Semnan; I am from Qom. His father is a religious scholar, and he is also a religious scholar. His surname is "Aleml." He is the official spokesman for the Supreme National Security Council, which has 12 members, including Khamene'i, Rafsanjani, the Ministers of Interior and Security, and Ahmad Khomeyni. It is the highest political-military power in Iran and makes the major decisions on all levels.

[Murtada] How could the situation develop in Iran in the near future, in light of the Zahedan challenges?

[Rouhani] The situation might go from bad to worse. The regime is off balance and unstable.

[Murtada] What is the alternative to the regime? The domestic opposition? The Abol-Hasan Bani Sadr wing in the regime?

[Rouhani] The alternative might be a moderate Islamic regime, not the Islam that the present regime espouses. I mean a regime that respects principles of Islamic justice

and freedom. One cannot offer hypotheses in this regard. The alternative is a regime composed of a supreme council, whose strength is 400 or 500 persons. This council elects a nucleus of 10 to 12 persons to rule the country. Free elections should then follow. Everything depends on the people's free choice and consciousness. They want tangible results.

I am one who calls for free elections. This means finally turning the page of the Valay-e Faqih [Supreme Jurisprudent]. As a jurist, I believe that Vali-ye Faqih is not a religious principle, because it is a man's power over people. For example, how can a religious scholar who knows nothing about arms, military strategies, and the tactics of complex modern warfare, presume to build an army and determine its type of weaponry, in addition to its training? The same question also pertains to the economic structure. It is very complex and delicate. The cultural structure is no less complex for its part. Are financial issues simple? I believe that Velayat-e faqih died with Khomeyni and his legacy has been replaced by Vali-ye Amr [Guardian of the Muslim Cause], i.e., the ruler or sultan. Khamene'i, now, is Vali-ye Amr. As for the beiat [pledge of allegiance], that is claimed by Rafsanjani, the elected president. I think that all of this nomenclature touches the people's religious sensibilities and strives for religious legitimacy. The words and titles are pretty, but what is important is managing the country and the results achieved.

[Murtada] Why dissolve the regular army? Why have attempts been unsuccessful to merge it with the Revolution Guard forces?

[Rouhani] In a state like Iran, where all are subjects of Vali-ye Faqih and Vali-ye Amr, there is no place for a regular army. These things must be done away with, before starting to rebuild regular military structures, seeking help from experts and technicians. The religious scholars should be excluded from this; they might be proficient in religious jurisprudence, but they don't know the requirements for a modern military structure. This separation is a must.

[Murtada] Who is the Shiites' supreme Marja' today, after the death of Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Reza Golpaygani?

[Rouhani] Grand Ayatollah Mohammad 'Ali Araki. He is over 100 years old. I know him personally, very well. I attended a study group with him, conducted by Ayatollah Mohammad Taqi Khansari in Qom. Araki is a pious man, but he is reaching the end of his life, so that he no longer knows what is happening in Iran. One of my friends called on him last year to talk with him and get his views. My friend was astonished when Araki asked him about Imam Khomeyni's health. He believed that Araki didn't know that Khomeyni had been dead for five years. He apologized for the question. He said: "I didn't know that. May Khomeyni live with God in His Paradise." He was chosen the Shiites' supreme Marja' precisely because he doesn't know what's going on in the

country, because there is the concern to maintain the regime, no matter the cost. Araki supports the Vali-ye Faqih, while others may reject it.

Now, every grand ayatollah is in Qom. There is no longer one in holy Najaf. It is impossible for Khamene'i to become the supreme Marja', because this selection depends on the people and their faith. According to the Constitution, Khamene'i is the effective head of state. He has the final word in all political matters. Rafsanjani, in fact, is head of the Cabinet, with the title of president of the republic. Today, he is less influential than he used to be. Once he was a trusted advisor, close to Khomeyni. I think that this is the basic reason for the West's indifference vis-a-vis Rafsanjani, and his attempts at a policy of openness toward it. He is being held back by radicals.

[Murtada] Why are Iranian-Gulf relations fluctuating warily, despite serious Gulf initiatives, based on a desire for good neighborliness. Then, the occupation of Abu Musa Island occurred to reveal an overt expansionism?

[Rouhani] I think the Gulf states do not trust the Iranian regime. A climate of confidence is basic in good-neighbor relations. When I refer to the government in Iran it occurs to me, in the first place, that firm relations ought to be established with Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states. I can well understand Gulf wariness vis-a-vis the Tehran regime and its flip-flops. Abu Musa compounded this situation and, unfortunately, caused alienation. Words alone will not eliminate the suspicion and distrust.

[Murtada] One last question. The Islamic Revolution came to power in 1979 and raised the slogan of just rule. Fifteen years later, we see that the abyss has deepened between the rich and the poor. That is what overthrew the Shah's regime. Does this gap, now, represent a main

danger point against the ruling regime? Will history repeat itself, with another mark in Iran?

[Rouhani] Rafsanjani himself admitted that the gap is growing between the haves and the have-nots, between the wealthy and the poor, which was the crux of the demonstrations against the Shah. Now, class tensions are rising on the eve of the 16th year of the Iranian Revolution. I think that this gap is a major danger point for the regime which, as I expect, will be subjected to major tremors even before the end of President Rafsanjani's second term in three years. The president is a candidate to be eliminated, since he is not affiliated with a well-known religious family, as is the case with the leader, Ali Khamene'i, who is the son of Ayatollah Javad Khamene'i and the nephew of Shaykh Mohammad Khatami, leader of the Tabriz revolt during the Constitutional Revolution in Iran.

Rafsanjani is from a small village called Bahremān in southern Iran. It is part of the city of Rafsanjan, in the Kerman Province. During the Shah's regime, he fled to Iraq and, then, to Syria and Lebanon, where he received assistance from Imam Musa al-Sadr. His wish was to transform the revolution into a state, but he immediately clashed with positions of power. As a result, he has backed off his project in favor of maintaining his seat in power. He is now completely in a semi-defensive condition. He has lost his gamble on economic reform. I am sure that his goal has been limited to continuing in power until the end of his term. He is no longer likely to introduce reforms into this situation, whose difficulties have apparently gone out of control, especially in light of the collapse of oil prices, the population numbers, the paucity of production, and the decline in the currency exchange rate. I see no light at the end of the tunnel. Unfortunately, bitter bread or "sangk" has become the first concern that keeps various classes of society sleepless, and makes them take to the streets.

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